



Photocopy of File No. 25/4/NGO-Vol. IV

(LW-KW.I, II & III)

Total Nos. of pages : 129

परम गोपनीय
~~TOP~~ SECRET

13

विदेश मंत्रालय
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
(एन० जी० ओ० अनुभाग)
(N. G. O. SECTION)

फाइल नं०
File No. 25/4/NGO-Vol. IV

विषय : (कृपया इस आवरण को उलटें)
(Subject : Please Turn Over)

(Photocopy)
(LW-KW.I, II & III)

कहां भेजा Sent to	कब भेजा On	कहां भेजा Sent to	कब भेजा On	कहां भेजा Sent to	कब भेजा On
	Notices: Corr:	Page to P 13 14 to 128			

Keep



~~Declassified~~
~~28/12/15~~

(अरुण कुमार चटर्जी)
(ARUN KUMAR CHATTERJEE)
संयुक्त सचिव (सि. एन. ओ.)
Joint Secretary (ONG)
विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

~~TOP SECRET~~

F.No: 25/41/HQ-Vol 2

Ministry of External Affairs
(NGO Section)

As desired by FS, I asked Shri N. Ravi, DCM, Tokyo to send Missions's file relating to enquiry on Netaji's death. I was given to understand that the Mission has one file which contains detailed correspondence of 1956 between Ambassador B.R. Sen and Shri S. Dutt, the then FS. It appears that the Mission's record is far more comprehensive as some of the letters/documents quoted by Shri Ravi thus not form a part of our NGO record. While I have advised Shri Ravi to send the file by a special bag, a former telegram needs to be issued to authorise him to do so. The same is being sent as a TS telegram which FS may like to see before issue.

Shri Ravi is trying to send the file in a Category A bag by tomorrow i.e. 24.8.95. Arrangements for collection of the bag from Air India is being worked out separately.

May kindly see.

R. K. Saha
(Rajit Saha)
Director (CNV)
23.8.1995

R. K. Saha
23/8

So (NGO)

from above.
The special bag has
been collected today. As instructed,
Cover No. TOK/102/2/92 is placed below
without it being opened.

R. K. Saha
25.8.95

T-388/B/95
w/8

is (CNV) out 2

FS

3

Ministry of External Affairs
(NGO Section)

2

As desired by FS, our Mission's file relating to enquiry on Netaji's death received from DCM, Tokyo was opened by me. The file contains a report regarding Netaji's death forwarded to our Mission in Tokyo by the Japanese Foreign Office vide their Note Verbale No. 24/A4 dated 31.1.1956.

A copy of English translation of the original said Note Verbale was handed over personally to Ms. Omita Paul, OSD(EAM) today at 1200 hours. She will put up the report to EAM as he wishes to see the same. As this was taken from a TS file I have asked her to return the same to me after EAM's perusal.

For information.

R. K. Kache
(Rajat Saha)
Director(CNV)
30.8.1995

T. 375/13/91
31/8/95

✓

✓ DIR (CNV)

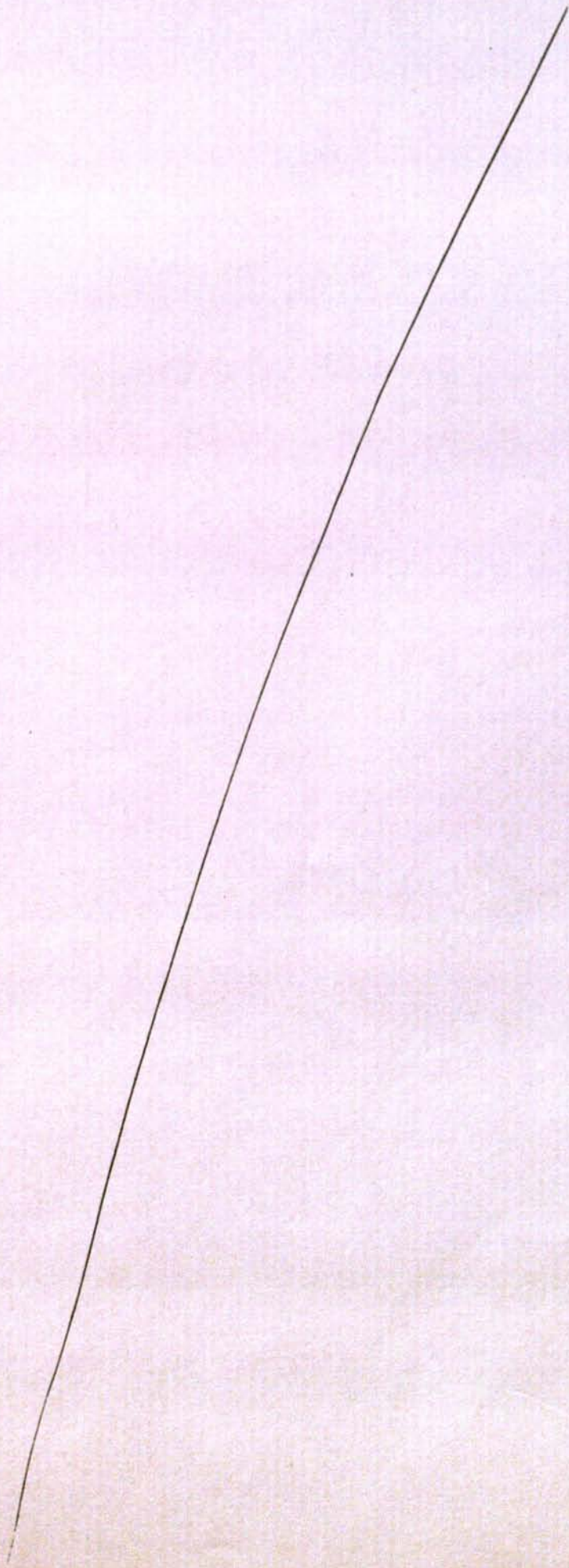
So (Ntw)

1/9.

R. K. Kache
14/9

①

③




(5)

(4)

Ref Notes pre-page

As directed by Dir(CNV) photocopy has been taken of Embassy of India, Tokyo F.No.5(1)NGO-I. Photocopy has also been taken of their part file No.5(1)NGO-I(Amb/PS-II/56) which was forwarded alongwith the abovequoted file by Embassy of India, Tokyo.


We may, if approved, return the documents to Embassy of India, Tokyo as per DFA placed below.


(Goutam Gupta) 10.11.95
Section Officer(NGO)

~~Dir(CNV)~~ Have discussed with FS. 7S
desires that a copy of the E/E Tokyo file be
kept in the NGO section. The original file
could be returned to the mission.

P. K. K. K.
13/11/95

~~So (NGO)~~

u-a-taken

13.11.95

Airtel CCB Telegram	S.No. 1	- Incl
T-1860/11/95	S.No. 2	- Incl
T-1868/11/95	S.No. 3	- receipt
Tok/102/2192 24/11/95	S.No. 4	- receipt
25/11/95 Pt 13/11/95	S.No. 5	- Incl
8329/11/95 21/12	S.No. 6	- (FR) Added

Subject :- Death/Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

In pursuance of the then Prime Minister's announcement in Parliament on 3.12.55 the Government of India appointed a committee on 5th April 1956 "to enquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith".

Shah Nawaz
Committee
Report

2. Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, Shri Suresh Chandra Bose (elder brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) and Shri S.N. Maitra, ICS (a nominee of the Government of West Bengal) were the members of the Committee which began its work in early April 1956 and completed the report by end July 1956.

3. The Committee examined 67 witnesses including a number of persons who were known to have been associated with Netaji in the last stages. Of these 32 witnesses were examined at Tokyo (Japan), 4 at Bangkok (Thailand) and 3 at Saigon (Vietnam) and the balance of 28 at Delhi and Calcutta. In India, the committee examined five of the six persons who accompanied Netaji on his last flight from Bangkok including Mr. S.A. Ayer, Mr. Debnath Das and Col. Habibur Rehman. The Committee also examined Gen. J.K. Bhonsle, Chief of the General Staff of the INA. The Commission examined not only those who had information to give, but those who had theories to propound. The members of the committee visited Bangkok, Saigon and Tokyo and were able to examine four of the six Japanese survivors of the plane crash, as well as two doctors who attended Netaji during his last hours. The members of the committee did not visit Formosa which was the actual scene of occurrence of the plane crash, as there were difficulties in doing so on account of the fact that no diplomatic relations existed between the Government of India and the authorities in Formosa. The report forwarded to our Mission in Tokyo by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jan 1956 was also made available to the Commission. The report, inter alia, drawn up the sequence of events following Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's departure from Bangkok on 17.8.1955 to his sad demise on 18.8.55 and cremation thereafter. This report may be seen at Annexure I.

4. In its report, the Commission dealt with the following points:-

- (i) Last of the plans of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose
- (ii) Air crash at Taihoku (Formosa)
- (iii) Death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose
- (iv) Cremation of Netaji's body
- (v) Netaji's ashes
- (vi) Treasure

Each of these points is dealt with in a self-contained chapter. After fully considering the evidence available, two of the members (S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra) came to the conclusion that while taking off from Taihoku (Formosa) in the afternoon of 18th August 1945, the Japanese military plane carrying Netaji and his companion (Col. Habibur Rehman) developed some trouble and burst into flames. Suffering from severe burns Netaji was carried into the Taihoku Hospital where, after some hours, he passed away. The final recommendation of the committee signed by S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra may be seen at annexure II.

5. Netaji Inquiry Committee Report 1956 was made available as a 'priced publication'.

6. The third member of the Committee Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, submitted a dissentient report stating that there had been no plane crash involving Netaji's death. However, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

7. In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains and that there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on 11th July, 1970 one man commission of inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court was appointed as sole member.

8. Besides the Shah Nawaz Committee report, the dissenting report of Shri Suresh Chandra Bose submitted on Oct 9, 1956 and placed on the table of the Rajya Sabha on 12th Dec., 1956 was placed before the Commission. In all, 224 witnesses were examined by the Commission and a large number of documents, letters, newspaper reports, books and memoranda were received and read. While the Shah Nawaz Committee had not been able to go to Taiwan which resulted in a great deal of criticism, the Commission visited Taiwan in July, 1973. The Commission spent about 8 days at Taipei recording the evidence of witnesses, inspecting the airfield where the crash was alleged to have taken place and visiting the crematorium where Bose's body was alleged to have been cremated.

9. The basic findings of the 'air crash' theory has been summarised by the commission which reads as "After giving the most anxious consideration to all the available evidence, the criticism to which the statements of the various witnesses were subjected and the arguments advanced by counsel, I have reached the conclusion that the story of the air crash at the Taihoku airfield in Taiwan and the subsequent death of Bose, resulting from burn injuries sustained by him in crash must be believed. This story is substantiated by the testimony of wholly independent witnesses, four of whom were Bose's co-passengers in the plane which crashed, one is the doctor who attended to him and signed his death certificate and several others mentioned in the course of this chapter who have corroborated this story in all material particulars. I am not prepared to accept the contention that the entire military organisation of Japan had entered into conspiracy to put forward a false story in order to cover up Bose's escape. Such a hypothesis is foreign to reason and to human nature. Most of the witnesses who gave evidence impressed me by their frank and honest demeanour. The Doctor, too, appeared to be a most convincing witness of truth. The criticism advanced against the testimony of these witnesses has been

Kholsa Commission
of enquiry

discussed by me in the foregoing pages, and in the end, it is only necessary to say that this criticism does not shake the strength and the value of the evidence.

I, therefore, find it proved beyond all reasonable doubt that Bose travelled in a Japanese bomber from Touraine to Taihoku on the morning of 18th of August, 1945. At Taihokuy the plane stopped for a short time to refuel. The pilot detected a snag in one of the engines. This was attended to, and the pilot pronounced the aircraft to be airworthy. The propellers of one of the engines had been damaged in a previous accident and the repair carried out did not completely restore the efficiency of the engine. This finally caused the crash at Taihoku, almost immediately after the plane took off. The plane crashed to the ground, broke into two parts and caught fire. In this fire the pilot and Genl. Shidei died instantaneously and of the other men on board, the co-pilot Ayoagi died later and Bose also succumbed to his burn injuries during the course of the following night. His body was cremated and the ashes were taken to Tokyo. The Commission dealt with three matters which were construed as having a remote ~~matters~~, and in-direct bearing on the facts of the enquiry. These are:-

- (i) What was the exact nature of relations between Nehru and Bose;
- (ii) Was Bose declared a war criminal, liable to be tried and punished by the Special Tribunal set up for this purpose; and
- (iii) What is the significance of the earliest enquiries regarding Bose conducted by Intelligence and secret service personnel.

In addition the Commission considered the evidence of a number of witnesses whose importance lies not in the intrinsic worth of what they had to say, but in the enthusiasm and persistence with which they pressed their claim to be heard. Further, the Commission analysed other versions of Bose's whereabouts and the various stories that were narrated in the course of the inquiry, to disprove the allegation of his death at Taipei. There were many witnesses who severally claim to have seen, met or talked to Bose at various times and places long after August 18, 1945. The Commission opined that numerous stories about encounters with Bose at various places after 1945 are completely false and unacceptable.

10. Taking into accounts all facts of the case, the Commission concluded that Bose had sustained burn injuries of the third degree following air crash a little after 2.35 p.m. on 18.8.1945 and despite the efforts of the doctors to revive him, he succumbed to his injuries the same night. The findings of the Commission may be seen at Annexure III which, inter alia, incorporates sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

11. Report of the ONE MAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was published at New Delhi on June 30, 1974.

Background note

S.No. 7 (2 copies)

- added.

Note for Cabinet

S.No. 8 Copy No. 2

- added.

(9)


(8)

Siv (CMV) wanted that this file should be
submitted to director (FSO)
submitted please

T-27/FS/96
22/1


22/1/96

So CM 90)


22.1.96

✓ Div / FSO)

Am
2/2

Siv (CMV)

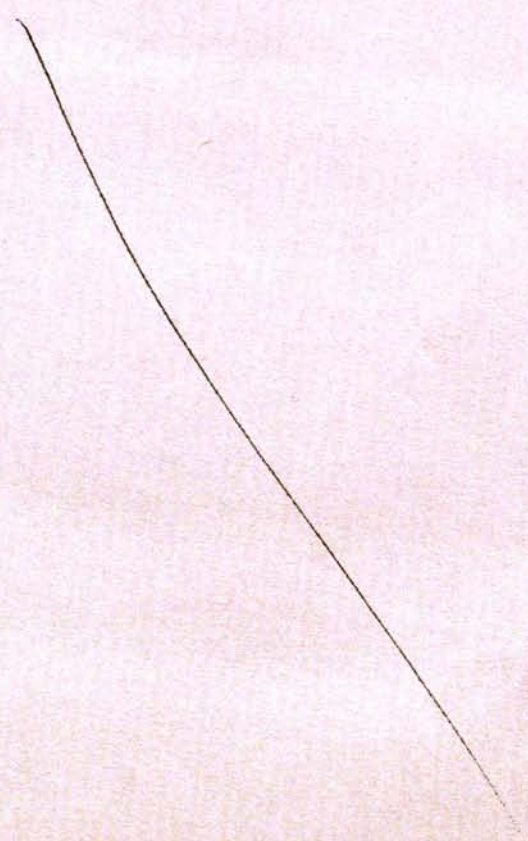
Ry: Keelha -
2/2

So (New)

AC OPS
2.2.96

Op. 4974/CMV/95 - S.No. 9 - Added

Dy. No. T-2619/NGO/95 - Sl. No. 10 - Added



Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

Shri N.K. Sinha, JS to PM, in his u.o. note No.805/11/C/13/95-Part II dated 19.12.1995, intimated to us that a suggestion has been received in PMO, including from some members of the family of the late Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, proposing that the ashes presumed to be Netaji's, presently kept in an urn at Renkoji Temple, Tokyo, should be subjected to Mitochondrial DNA analysis, to try to resolve the controversy surrounding them. JS(PMO) wanted the comments of MEA.

According to information available with us, it is seen that some members of the family of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, are in favour and some members are opposed to this proposal. Shri Ashis C. Ray of CNN, who is the grandson of Netaji's elder brother, proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job, with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Bloc, and such like". He stated that a blood sample could be taken from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn, on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC, Col. Habibur Rahman), to carry out the test.

EAM met Mrs. Emily Shenkel Bose and her daughter, Ms. Anita Pfaff, in Germany in October 1995. Ambassador S.K. Lambah was also present. EAM felt that Netaji's widow and daughter are keen that an early solution be found to the issue of return of Netaji's ashes to India. They appeared to be convinced of the seriousness of purpose on the part of the Indian Government. Ms. Anita Pfaff made it clear that, while she would like to consult other members of the family in India, the final decision would rest with her alone. She anticipated opposition from some members of the family. She would prefer the family is not divided on this issue.

Amongst the other members of the Bose family, press reports indicate that Dr. Sisir Bose supports the idea of bringing back the ashes, but late Dr. Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, had been the most vociferous skeptic of the aircraft episode.

MEA's suggestions to Home Ministry:

MEA suggested that, in view of the widespread sentiments, Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. In doing so, the following preparatory action was envisaged:

- i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes... public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes, etc.

ii) Alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions who would give a call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

As regards DNA test, the matter is likely to cause considerable public debate, especially when members of Netaji's family are sharply divided about this issue, notwithstanding vociferous opposition of a large section of people who are skeptic about the mortal remains kept in Renkoji Temple, and/or the episode of aircrash.

FS may like to discuss with EAM before a reply is forwarded to PMO.

R. Saha
(Rajat Saha)
Director (CNV)
07.02.1996

~~FS~~

EAM

The proposed DNA test may well generate more controversy, especially as Mme. Amrita Pfaller does not agree. If EAM approves, we can tell PMO that we need not encourage moves to institute the DNA test.

S. I. Mishra
4/2

✓ EAM Already a controversy has been raised regarding the genuineness of the ashes. A section of the public opinion also including some political parties are against bringing the ashes of Netaji. I am afraid any step to conduct DNA Test may precipitate controversy which may not be directly on the issue but B & Co. like INA members like Datta, Krishna Singh are in favour of bringing the ashes. In view of this we

T-63/PS/96
9/2

T-18/EAM/96
12/4/96

for present. But ^{it} unless my next view
it is not. However a view is to be
taken about the request of Japanese govt.
to bring back the ashes. A detailed note
may be prepared for consideration of the
Cabinet. This may be submitted immediately.

P. J. S.

12.2.96.

F.S.

1. prepare Cabinet Note setting out the considerations
mentioned above by EAM.

S. Mishra

14/2

T-66/FS/96

13/2

✓ Dir (CNV)

As desired, a Draft Cabinet Note is put up
for EAM's perusal.

P. J. Saha
(Rajat Saha)
Director (CNV)
28.2.1996

T-101/FS/96

28/2

S. Mishra

29/2

T/EAM/80/96

4/3/96

FS

✓ EAM

P. J. S. 5/3/96

✓ Dir (CNV)

27. 1185 / FS/36/31 / 1/76

S. No 11 -

Added

T- 2019 / 1150 / 95

S. No 12 -

Added

27. 2925 / 1150 / 96

S. No 13 -

Added

Foreign Secretary is aware that EAM approved the Draft Cabinet Note regarding the proposal to bring the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India. We were given to understand by the Cabinet Secretariat that the Note for the Cabinet needs to be forwarded to them along with Hindi translation. The task of translating into Hindi was given to our Hindi Section.

In view of the Fifth World Hindi Conference at Trinidad & Tobago, between April 4 to 8, 1996, most of the officials of the Hindi Section had to proceed to Trinidad & Tobago. Nevertheless, the translated copy has now been received from the Hindi Section. The Note, in the requisite format, both in English and Hindi, is placed below for FS's signatures. As it is mandatory to forward the Cabinet Note to the Cabinet Secretariat by an officer not less than the rank of a Joint Secretary, FS may wish to mark the paper to JS(EA) for forwarding the note. Requisite number of copies will be made by NGO Section prior to forwarding the note.

In view of the forthcoming General Elections, and taking into account that the Hon'ble Ministers may be pre-occupied with elections, FS may also like to speak to Cabinet Secretary ascertaining his views about appropriate time for sending the Note.

R. S. Saha
(Rajat Saha)
Director (CNV)
15.4.1996

T-158/PS/96
18/4

ES

I have signed the note but it need not be sent to Cabinet Secy. for the present. I am advised that the Cabinet will not have time to consider it before the election.

S. J. Saha
20/4

Dir (CNV)

R. S. Saha
22/4

SO (N 620)

13

JS(EA) has desired to see this file.
submitted please.

Q.
20/8/96

Wood
20.8.96

So(MSO)

JS(EA)

W. J. J. J.

W. J. J.

DO-15-8/95 - (2M(P)) - S. K. W. 16-18 - added

as directed by SIV (FBO) The following
files relating to Tleloji are being submitted
to Socy (West).

1. FTR-23/4/1950 vol III (1/w one document & 2 printed books)
2. FTR-23/4/1950 vol IV (40 KW I)
3. FTR-23/4/1950 vol V

Submitted please

Q.
9/12/96

Wood
9.12.96

So(MSO)

Secretary (West) has seen.

JS(EA) has desired to see this file

~~Confidential~~ 14

Ministry of External Affairs
(East Asia Division)

TS-17/JS(EA)/98
27/3

Reference PMO U.O. No. G-12(3)/98-NGO dated 20.3.1998.

2. Relevant details in this regard are contained in the Note for Cabinet dated 16-12-1995.

3. There was some suggestion that some information may be in the Russian Archives de-classified following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Enquiries were made with the Russian side and MEA was informed formally that there was no evidence of Netaji having been in the Soviet Union in the post-1945 period. Two years ago, Shri Asish Ray, grandson of Netaji's elder brother, had addressed a Press conference at Delhi at which he had released a copy of the formal communication from the Russian Government to GOI.

4. Netaji's ashes are presently held in Renkoji Temple on the outskirts of Tokyo. The priests at the Renkoji Temple, some of whom were associates of Netaji in the INA, have cared for the remains with respect and reverence. They are keen that the ashes should be brought back in honour to India. The Japanese Government has also conveyed a similar desire. However, there is no pressure either from the Renkoji Temple or from the Japanese Government for the return of the ashes to India.

5. The main obstacle to the return of the ashes has been the lack of consensus in India in regard to whether the ashes are actually Netaji's. Some members of the family held the view that Netaji was still alive. This point has been dealt with in the letter written by Prof. Anita Pfaff.

6. MEA has consistently taken the view that the ashes could be brought back to India subject to there being a national consensus in India in this regard.

7. FS may kindly see before these papers are sent to PMO.

JS(P)(PMO)

Principal Secretary may kindly see

14/03/98
(T.C.A. Rangachari)
Joint Secretary (EA)
26 March 1998

T-161/FS/98
22/3
17/03/98

26/3/98

(16)

S No 19 — Addref

S No 20 — Addref (Cheng)

DNo. 326/Nhaon - S No. 21 — FR

Submitted as desired please.

Shan
25.5.49

Shan
27/5/49

Pls go through the file(s) and put up a list of documents that might be relevant to the Commission of Inquiry — resubmit by 2/6

Rg
21/5

Reference above

The following relevant files are put up for perusal please:

1. F.No. 25/4/Nhaon - vol. I
2. F.No. 25/4/Nhaon - vol. II (LW-KW)
3. F.No. 25/4/Nhaon - vol. III (LW-Annex)
4. F.No. 25/4/Nhaon - vol. IV (LW-KW.I)
5. F.No. 25/13/Nhaon (LW-KW)
6. F.No. 25/14/Nhaon-52
7. F.No. 25/15/Nhaon-52
8. F.No. 25/16/Nhaon-52

Submitted please.

Shan
21.06.49

Shan
1/10/49

Received
✓ JSC/NV

Shan
21/5
Jm

Received



विदेश सचिव
विदेश मन्त्रालय, नई दिल्ली-110011
FOREIGN SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

(21)

16

No. 5889 /FS/99

18th May, 1999 .

Dear Sh Nikhil Kumar,

3260/NCO/99

24/5

smo. 20

Please refer to your letter No. I/12014/3/99 IS(D.III), dated May 14, 1999, on the Commission of Inquiry appointed to inquire into the alleged disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. MEA will take action as required. The nodal officer here will be Shri B.Balakrishnan, Joint Secretary (CNV) - Tel. No. 3011357. He may be contacted by the Commission for any information or clarification.

हार्दय

Yours sincerely,

(K.Raghunath)

Shri Nikhil Kumar,
Special Secretary,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
North Block,
New Delhi.

for info 4/10/99

12/21/5

on file ps

so (NCO/5) - sm sm



NIKHIL KUMAR
विशेष सचिव
SPECIAL SECRETARY

1925/JS (CHY) 199

19.5.99.

D.O. NO. 1/12014/3/99-1S(D.111)

5889/FS/99

1815

भारत सरकार
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
गृह मंत्रालय
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

(20)

New Delhi
the 14th May, 1999.

(17)

Dear *Shri Raghunath*,

Government of India had decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry under Section 3 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952 to enquire into the alleged disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A retired Judge of the Supreme Court of India has since been nominated to preside over the Commission. A copy of the relevant notification would be sent to you as soon as it is issued.

2. Since the Commission is to complete the inquiry in a period of six months we need to have readily available records relevant to the subject matter of the Inquiry.

3. I shall, therefore, be grateful if you kindly instruct the concerned officers to collect such documents and send us within a week a list of these. Also, since the Inquiry would involve consultations with concerned Ministries, I request you to kindly nominate, and send us the name of, a nodal officer in your Ministry who could be contacted whenever needed by the Commission for any information or clarification.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

14 May 99

(NIKHIL KUMAR)

Shri K. Raghunath,
Foreign Secretary,
Ministry of External Affairs,
South Block, NEW DELHI.

2 JM

So (Nao/s)
- Su JM

(19)

12/03/98 23/3 20/3

URGENT
CONFIDENTIAL

(18)

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Reference Ambassador Lambah's letter No.Bon/Amb/98-5(c) dated 3 March 1998 regarding the transfer of the ashes of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose to India.

2. The facts of the case and views of MEA are urgently requested.

P.P. Shukla

(P.P. Shukla)

Joint Secretary (PMO)

20 Mar 98

✓ Foreign Secretary
PMO U.O. No. G-12 (3)/98-NR 0

dated 20-3-98

P/
examined

G-12 (3) (NR)

On file M.

As directed M.



CONFIDENTIAL



19
AMBASSADOR OF INDIA

ADENAUERALLEE 262-264
53113 BONN

TEL.: 54 05 11 3 + 54 05 11 4

FAX: 54 05 15 4

TELEX: 8869 301 PM

No. Bon/Amb/98- 5 (C)

March 3, 1998

My dear Principal Secretary,

Prof. Dr. (Mrs.) Anita Pfaff, daughter of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, had dinner with me at my residence yesterday. She handed over a letter addressed to the Prime Minister. I enclose the original letter along with a copy. The main point made in the letter is that she is agreeable for bringing the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan to India.

2 The subject of the return of ashes has been discussed informally with Prof. Anita Pfaff for some time.

3 On instructions from the then External Affairs Minister, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, I had been asked to ascertain the views of Prof. Anita Pfaff. She and her husband Dr. Martin Pfaff, who is a Member of Parliament, came to my house on 28th September, 1995 for dinner. I found that both of them were in favour of return of the ashes to India but, at that time, did not take any categorical stand.

4 Later, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, the then External Affairs Minister transited through Germany on October 21, 1995 to meet Prof. Anita Pfaff. I accompanied him to Augsburg. He had a long discussion with Prof. Anita Pfaff in which different viewpoints were expressed. While she was favourably inclined to return of the ashes, she was not sure about the timings. Some family members advised her that it may be preferable to get them after Netaji's centenary year celebrations were over in India. We also met her mother Mrs. Emilie Schenkl-Bose.

5 A few months later, Mrs. Emilie Schenkl-Bose passed away in March, 1996. I accompanied the then Minister of State for Finance Mr. Debiprosad Pal to Augsburg for the funeral on 18th March, 1996.

6 Prof. Anita Pfaff was invited by the then EAM to visit India but the visit was postponed on account of her ill-health. When Netaji's centenary celebrations started, no invitation was initially issued to Prof. Anita Pfaff. However, when we came to know that Mrs. Jyotsna Bose was being invited as her son lives in Hamburg (she lives in Calcutta) and the invitation was, by mistake, sent to the Embassy. We got in touch with the Ministry of Culture who immediately sent an invitation to Prof. Anita Pfaff but she could not attend due to the short notice.

7 PM, when he was EAM, transited through Frankfurt on 9th February, 1997. He asked me to renew the invitation extended by his predecessor to Prof. Anita Pfaff. Subsequently, Prof. Anita Pfaff visited India in March/April, 1997 and again in January, 1998. She met the President and PM. The enclosed letter to PM, she told me, is a continuation of the discussions she had with PM in Delhi on January 25, 1998..

8 During the discussions yesterday, Prof. Anita Pfaff told me :

- (i) Amongst the family members, she had so far only consulted Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose. After the letter reaches PM, she would be informing some other members. She still expects that some of them would oppose the move but she felt her decision will have a positive impact on the family.
- (ii) She was keen that there is a national consensus among the political parties on this subject.
- (iii) As regards the timing, in case a positive decision is taken by the Government, she felt that some date in the second half of the year could be considered for bringing the ashes to India.
- (iv) In that eventuality, she would like detailed consultations by the Government of India with the Japanese authorities, particularly the Priests at the Renkoji temple in Tokyo.
- (v) She was appreciative of the two seminars on Netaji held by the Embassy as a part of 50th anniversary celebrations of India's Independence. (The first one was on June 7, 1997 organised by the Indian Cultural Centre, Berlin and the second seminar was on 16th February, 1998 in Frankfurt where Netaji's associates Col. Gurbakhsh Singh Dhillon and Col. Lakshmi Sehgal were the Guests of Honour).

9 I shall be grateful if you could kindly get Dr. Pfaff's letter examined. We can subsequently inform her of the decision which is taken.

10 I am sending a copy of this letter, along with the enclosure, to Foreign Secretary.

Warm regards

Yours sincerely,

Satinder K. Lambah

(Satinder K. Lambah)

Shri N.N. Vohra,
Principal Secretary to PM
PMO,
New Delhi

Copy, with a copy of the enclosure, to Shri K. Raghunath, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.

(21)

Prof. Dr. Anita B. Pfaff

Haldenweg 23

D-86391 Stadtbergen

Federal Republic of Germany

Tel.: 0049-821-434812

Fax.: 0049-821-438807 or 432531

To
His Excellency
The Prime Minister of India
Mr. I. K. Gujral
Prime Minister's House
7, Race Course
New Delhi
India

By Diplomatic Bag

February 24, 1998

Respected Prime Minister,

Following up on our conversation during my last visit to New Delhi on January 25th, 1998, I would like to address myself to you in writing – and through you to the Government of India – with regard to the question of establishing a suitable memorial for my father Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and finding an honourable and satisfactory settlement to the somewhat controversial question of the return of his ashes from Renkoji Temple in Tokyo, Japan to India.

I was very pleased that my father's birth centenary was celebrated in all parts of India and many projects were initiated in his memory and in his name in the course of these celebrations. I am particularly grateful to the Government of India and the State Governments as well as to many groups and the people of India in general who helped make these functions and activities memorable and dignified occasions in Netaji's honour. I do hope that in the course and sequence of his birth centenary some public funding for the collection and preservation of documents referring to my father's efforts in the struggle for India's independence could also be assured. So far it had, after all, largely been the private activity and voluntary work of members of the Netaji Research Bureau which was motivated by the wish to obtaining historically important documents before they got lost or destroyed by the passage of time.

I am aware that one reason for not providing a memorial to my father of a similar quality as, for example, for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was to be found in the controversy about the circumstances of my father's death. As you know, even now some people are not even willing to admit to the fact that – after 101 years – he is no longer alive, leave alone to accept the circumstances of his reported death.

While it is true that some inconsistencies exist in the reports of the air crash at Taihoku Airport in August 1945, in which he was reported to have died, this is not too surprising – given the fact, that those days at the end of World War II in the Far East must have been traumatic and confusing days of turmoil. It is also understandable that following the first reports of this plane crash many people, including my mother and my uncle Sarat Chandra Bose, thought that in view of his previous escapes (from house arrest in Calcutta to Germany and by submarine from Germany to the Far East) this may be but another one of his fantastic get-aways. Ultimately their great affection for him let them hope that he had survived and would yet again return to India.

As time passed this became less and less likely. What would have kept him from returning to India after India attained independence? In my opinion but one alternative could have accounted for such a sequence of history: That one explanation would have been his escape to the Soviet Union and his

death on the way there or his execution or imprisonment and subsequent death in a Soviet concentration camp. Since after the opening of the Soviet archives no such evidence has been found to my knowledge, it should be evident also to those who have harboured doubts about the validity of the reports on the plane crash, that the probability approaches certainty that he died in this event as a martyr for his country's freedom. In this act he made the ultimate sacrifice by giving his life, which he had risked over and over in his non-violent as well as his armed struggle for India's freedom.

His Japanese comrades-in-arms have maintained his ashes in Tokyo, honoured him and paid homage to him. It is their wish that his ashes be returned to India with due honour, in line with their religious beliefs. Furthermore they are concerned that after their demise there would be nobody to care for his memory in Japan. I know that there have been some people in India – including members of my family – who did not wish the Government to take such an action, as, for a variety of reasons, they did not accept the reports of his death following the plane crash at Taihoku as factual. Even these people, who persist in their doubt, should, however, be able to accept the transfer of his ashes from Tokyo to India as a token of respect to his memory and a symbol of his sacrifice and martyrdom for India.

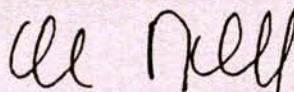
I therefore request the Government of India to make arrangements to have the reported ashes of my father returned from Tokyo to his homeland, especially to Delhi, which after all was the goal of his INA campaign. The ashes should then be immersed in the Ganges or parts of the ashes in different rivers of India. I am quite willing to participate with my husband and my children in the process of transferring the ashes – paying due respect to Japanese customs, whatever they may be. (If, for example, according to Japanese rites a male descendent should physically carry the ashes, my sons could do so.)

Furthermore I request the Government of India to erect, in the near future, a memorial in Delhi to my father's memory in line with the importance of his contribution to India's struggle for independence. By now historical evidence shows, I believe beyond doubt, that not only can his and the Indian National Army's efforts be saluted as heroic and selfsacrificing, but that the political effect of their actions was a major factor in destabilizing Britain's hold on India and thereby prominently contributed towards India's attaining independence.

Even though I do not know at this stage how the new government will be composed, following the ongoing elections, I hope that this request will be honoured by whoever may be forming the new government. It is furthermore my sincerest wish that all political parties of India could join together in this effort, irrespective of their political programmes. Moreover, potential controversy on account of the diminishing number of persons opposed to a transfer of Netaji's ashes should best be faced jointly and not exploited individually. I am certainly willing to bear my share of the responsibility for such action. It is my belief that Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose who is not only the founder-director of the Netaji Research Bureau but also the eldest surviving male member of my generation of the Bose family, will fully agree with my proposal. I would, however, find it most deplorable, should some political groups dishonour Netaji's memory and contribution, by creating a petty controversy for possibly selfish reasons.

With many thanks and respectful regards, Jai Hind!

Yours sincerely,



Prof. Dr. Anita B. Pfaff



बाल्मीकि प्रसाद सिंह
B. P. Singh

18

सचिव
भारत सरकार
मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय
संस्कृति विभाग
नई दिल्ली - ११० ००१
SECRETARY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE
NEW DELHI - 110 001

7 December 1996

Dear Shri Haidar,

Prime Minister has desired to have a meeting of the Floor Leaders of both Houses of Parliament on Monday the 9 December 1996 at 3 PM in Room No.9, Parliament House to discuss matters relating to the birth centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Among other things, the urgency for convening this meeting at such a short notice arose out of a mention during Zero Hour in Lok Sabha on 4 December 1996 of the following:

- (a) That the Government should immediately announce its plan of action regarding celebration of birth centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.
- (b) That the Government should declare 23rd January as a National Holiday to pay homage to Netaji.
- (c) That the Government should investigate into the circumstances leading to Netaji's death in a Plane Crash with a view to resolve the controversy once for all.

Since item (b)/(c) relates to your Ministry, I shall be grateful if you kindly make it convenient to attend the meeting and present there your Ministry's point of view for the facility of a decision.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

B.P. Singh
(B.P. Singh)

Shri S. Haidar,
Foreign Secretary,
Ministry of External Affairs,
South Block,
New Delhi.

(17) 1

(24)

**Minutes of the First Meeting of the Sub-Committee
of the National Committee to celebrate the Birth
Anniversary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose held
on 25th October, 1996 at 4.00 P.M. in Room No. 301,
'C' Wing, Shastri Bhavan, New Delhi**

The first meeting of the Sub-Committee of the National Committee to celebrate the Birth Centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was held under the chairmanship of the Minister of Human Resource Development (HRD) on 25th October, 1996 at 4.00 P.M. The following attended the meeting:-

- | | |
|--|----------|
| (i) HRM | in-Chair |
| (ii) Capt. Laxmi Sehgal | |
| (iii) Shri Shashi Bhushan | |
| (iv) Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose | |
| (v) Shri B.P. Singh, Secretary(C) | |
| (vi) Shri V.K. Majotra, Addl. Secretary(I&B) | |
| (vii) Shri R.L. Sudhir, Addl. Secretary
Sectt. for 50th Anniversary of India's Independence | |
| (viii) Smt. Kasturi Gupta Menon
Joint Secretary, Department of Culture | |
| (ix) Shri Ravi Kant Chopra,
Director, Department of Culture | |

These may be incorporated in the file
9/12
SO/Nov

HRM welcomed the members and requested Secretary(C) to brief them about the position, Secretary(C) recalled that the meeting of the National Committee was held on 5th December, 1995 under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister in which the following important decisions were taken:

- a. The Birth Centenary Celebrations would commence from 23rd January, 1997 and continue for one year.
- b. A sub-Committee would be constituted under the chairmanship of Minister of Human Resource Development to chalk out the action plan.

The Agenda Items were then taken up seriatim and the following decisions were taken:

1. Organisation of Inaugural Function

It was decided that a function would be organised at the Red Fort on 23rd January, 1997 (preferably in the morning) to be telecast live

25

on Doordarshan. Capt. Laxmi Sehgal and Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose assured that they would furnish to the Department a list of persons who should be invited to this function.

2. Issue of Commemorative Stamp

It was decided that a commemorative stamp should be released on 23rd January, 1997 and a request in this regard should be sent immediately to the Department of Posts.

3. Issue of Commemorative Coin

It was decided that a commemorative gold coin and another coin for circulation shall be issued in the memory of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. A request in this regard should be sent to the Department of Economic Affairs.

4. Telecast of a Film

During the discussion, reference was made to a 58-minute biographical film 'Netaji and India's Freedom' by Sugata Bose, Arze Hukumate Azad Hind, Ittefaq Ittemad Qurbani and other material available with the Doordarshan.

It was decided that a Committee comprising of Shri V.K. Majotra, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting; Shri Ashok Vajpeyi, Joint Secretary, Department of Culture; Smt. Kasturi Gupta Menon, Joint Secretary, Department of Culture and Shri Ravi Kant Chopra, Director, Department of Culture would watch the films suggested by the members as also other material available with Doordarshan and would select the best amongst these for being telecast during the centenary year on Doordarshan Network. The Chairman emphasised that the aim should be to rekindle the spirit of freedom struggle among younger generations.

5. Publication of Biography

It was decided that Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose's book published by National Book Trust should be released in different languages in regional capitals at different timings during the centenary year.

As regards publication of essential writings of Netaji, a comprehensive proposal in this behalf should be sent by the Netaji Research for the consideration of the Department.

6. Involvement of School Children/Youth

It was decided that the Department of Culture and the Department of Youth Affairs & Sports would jointly work out details of the programme to be organised (involving youth) as a part of the birth centenary celebrations.

7. Creation of Museum in Andaman

It was decided that instead of setting up a museum in Andaman the Red Fort Museum should be strengthened during the centenary year.

8. Renaming of Fort William, Calcutta

Considering the historic significance of the Fort as also taking into account the objections made to such a proposal by the historians it was decided to drop this proposal.

9. Renaming of Dehradun Military Academy

The Committee unanimously agreed not to pursue this suggestion and accordingly the item was dropped.

10. Declaration of 23rd January, 1998 as a National Holiday

Considering the philosophy of Netaji who always believed in action-Karma- it was decided not to declare any day as a National Holiday. However, a circular could be issued to the offices and educational institutions requesting them to allow the interested persons to attend the function on 23rd January, 1997/1998.

11. Establishment of Netaji Bal Sena Vidyalaya at Moirang

It was decided that HRM should write to the Chief Minister, Manipur and seek his advice regarding the feasibility of setting up an academic institution in Manipur in the memory of Netaji.

12. Establishment of Netaji Research Institute for the South East Asian Studies

It was decided that the advice of the State Government should be taken in this regard.

The following Supplementary Agenda Items were also discussed during the meeting:

1. Proposals from the Institute for Socialist Education

- (i) The Ministry of Defence would be requested to hand over to the National Archives of India the record kept by the Historic Wing of that Ministry.
- (ii) Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose and other member may give list of civilians of Singapore, Burma, Thailand and Japan to be invited for the function to be held in connection with the Birth Centenary Celebration of Netaji which will be considered.
- (iii) Joint Secretary, Department of Culture will make necessary enquiries with Joint Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs and officers of Reserve Bank of India to find out about the deposits/funds of Azad Hind Bank.
- (iv) Efforts would be made to take possession of 'Baoli' and 'Cells' in the Red Fort by the Archaeological Survey of India before 23-1-1997.
- (v) Secretary, Department of Culture would write to Ministry of Home Affairs for furnishing information about the Martyrs of Azad Hind Fauj.
- (vi) It would be suggested to the Ministry of Defence to name the regiments of the Armed Forces after the names of National Heroes & Martyrs instead of the prevalent system of nomenclature related to caste/community.
- (vii) To a proposal made by Shri Shashi Bhushan for publication of musical notations of INA songs compiled by Capt. Ram Singh of Lucknow, it was decided that Shri Shashi Bhushan may send a detailed proposal in this regard for consideration of the Department.

2. Proposal received from the State Government of West Bengal for a display of INA theme in the Central Space opposite to the Rostrum in the Republic Day Parade.

It was decided that the Government of West Bengal could be permitted to display INA theme in the Central space opposite the Rostrum in the Republic Day Parade to be held in 1997 only and the Ministry of Defence should be informed immediately about this.

3. Important communications recieved recently

28

The Committee took note of all the communications and took the following decisions:

- (i) The Government of West Bengal should be advised to finance its centenary celebrations out of its own resources because, otherwise, the Central Government would be flooded with similar requests from other State Governments also.
- (ii) Prof. Samar Guha and Shri S. Nijilingappa should be included as members of the sub-committee of the National Committee.
- (iii) After considering the proposals of the Netaji Research Bureau, HRM assured the Committee that he would discuss the matter personally with the Prime Minister with regard to their request for a grant of Rs.6.25 crore for development of Netaji Bhawan etc. However, their proposal regarding a Mobile Exhibition on Rails should be examined and put up to the HRM for decision.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

29

MINUTES OF THE FIRST MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO COMMEMORATE THE BIRTH CENTENARY OF NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA
BOSE HELD ON 5.12.95 AT 5.00 PM AT PARLIAMENT HOUSE ANNEXE
UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE PRIME MINISTER

The first meeting of the 'National Committee to commemorate the Birth Centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose' was held in Parliament House Annexe, New Delhi on 5th December, 1995 at 5.00 PM under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. The following were present:-

1. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, PM Chairman
2. Shri Madhavrao Scindia, HRM
3. Shri Pranab Mukherjee
4. Shri Sikander Bakht
5. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee
6. Shri Madan Lal Khurana, Chief Minister of Delhi
7. Shri Mohamed Shafi Qureshi, Governor, Madhya Pradesh
8. Shri K.V. Raghunatha Reddy, Governor, West Bengal.
9. Dr. Najma Heptullah
10. Shri Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi, MOS(PMO)
11. Col. Rao Ram Singh
12. Shri Chandrasekhar
13. Shri Chitta Basu
14. Shri Manoranjan Bhakta
15. Shri Somnath Chatterjee

- 30
16. Shri Indrajit Gupta
 17. Ms. Mamta Banerjee
 18. Shri Murli Manohar Joshi
 19. Shri Syed Shahabuddin
 20. Shri S.N. Dwivedy
 21. Shri Samar Guha
 22. Shri Shashi Bhushan
 23. Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee
 24. Shri B.P. Singh, Member-Secretary

2. At the outset, HRM welcomed PM and other honourable members of the National Committee and remarked that Netaji's name has become synonymous with courage, dynamism and sacrifice. He enjoyed a towering status among the front-rankers of our freedom struggle. He added that a number of suggestions have been received both from members and others and have been listed in the agenda papers. He felt that there was sufficient time to plan a befitting programme for centenary celebrations and looked forward to the advice and guidance in this matter from the Prime Minister and other members.

3. PM in his brief remarks said that the programme for the centenary celebrations should emphasise aspects which are of lasting nature with a view to make future generations imbibe Netaji's personality and vision. He thought that one or more sub-committees should be set up which could look into all the suggestions and give a final shape to the programme. PM also clarified that in keeping with the past practice followed by the Government of India in respect of 125th Birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi and the birth centenaries of

Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, Shri Morarji Desia, Shri V.V. Giri etc. the celebrations for Netaji would commence from 23rd January, 1997 on which the birth centenary actually falls and would continue for one year thereafter.

4. After a brief discussion, the National Committee reached the consensus that the birth centenary celebrations should start from 23rd January, 1997 and the position regarding this may be clarified to the general public so that there was no confusion.

5. Upon a point being raised, PM clarified that for the deliberations of the Committee and action on its recommendations, the set procedure would be followed and that, after a concrete programme emerged, the necessary funds for it would be provided.

6. The various members gave the following suggestions:-

- (1) After adequate research, all aspects, facts and events relating to Netaji must be incorporated and a comprehensive picture of his life, struggle and achievements should emerge.
- (2) The programmes to be undertaken should be constructive in nature and must have a lasting value.
- (3) The idea of setting-up a Netaji Foundation should be explored.

- (4) The land in front of the Red-Fort, presently under the occupation of the Defence Ministry, could be made available for construction of a suitable memorial including a Saheed Minar for Netaji.
- (5) The building within the Red Fort in which trial of INA soldiers took place has not yet been handed-over nor the 'bowri'. These, along with any records, that the Defence Ministry may have, should be handed-over to the Museum authorities of Red Fort.
- (6) The INA fund which was taken over by the Reserve Bank of India should be made available to fund the proposed Foundation.
- (7) A year-long programme should be chalked out carefully covering all the important aspects of Netaji's life and personality.
- (8) A university may be set-up in the memory of Netaji.
- (9) Instead of an Institute of Martial Arts, an Institute of Culture and National Integration be set-up to commemorate Netaji.
- (10) The proposed foundation, if set-up, could devote itself to international understanding.
- (11) A brief but authentic life story of Netaji should be incorporated suitably in the school text-books in all parts of the country.

33

- (12) Some of the ex-INA personnel, who have migrated to Pakistan but are still alive, may be invited to India during the centenary celebrations of Netaji.
- (13) The various suggestions received should be looked into by a sub-committee and it should have the authority to appoint Working Groups to take care of specific areas.
- (14) All State Governments/Union Territories to be requested to organise centenary celebrations in a suitable manner in their respective areas..
- (15) Since INA and Netaji were closely related with Andaman & Nicobar Islands, a museum of INA may be created in Andamans.
- (16) Both in Haripura and Tripuri, suitable memorials for Netaji may be constructed.

7. The National Committee unanimously decided that a Working Committee under the chairmanship of HRM may be constituted. The Committee also authorised PM to nominate fifteen members on this Working Committee. It would have the authority to set-up other sub-

34

committees, if required.

8. The National Committee also unanimously decided to drop sub-item No.45 of Agenda Item No.2.

The meeting ended with a Vote of Thanks to the Chair.

(16)

35

Composition of the National Committee for Celebrating
the Birth Centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------|
| 1. | Prime Minister | Chairman |
| 2. | Minister of Human Resource Development | Working Chairman |
| 3. | Shri Chandra Shekhar, Former Prime Minister | Member |
| 4. | Shri V.P. Singh, Former Prime Minister | Member |
| 5. | Shri I.K. Gujral
Minister of External Affairs | Member |
| 6. | Shri Indrajit Gupta
Minister of Home Affairs | Member |
| 7. | Shri C.M. Ibrahim
Minister of Information & Broadcasting | Member |
| 8. | Shri M. Arunachalam
Minister of Labour | Member |
| 9. | Shri Beni Prasad Verma
Minister of Communications | Member |
| 10. | Minister of State for Defence | Member |
| 11. | Minister of State for Waste Land Development | Member |
| 12. | Minister of State for Finance | Member |
| 13. | Governor, Manipur | Member |
| 14. | Shri Mohammad Shafi Ibrahim Qureshi
Governor, Madhya Pradesh | Member |
| 15. | Shri A.R. Kidwai
Governor, Bihar | Member |
| 16. | Shri K.V. Raghunath Reddy
Governor, West Bengal | Member |
| 17. | Chief Minister, West Bengal | Member |
| 18. | Chief Minister, Maharashtra | Member |
| 19. | Chief Minister, Tamil Nadu | Member |
| 20. | Chief Minister, Orissa | Member |
| 21. | Shri Saheb Singh Verma
Chief Minister, Delhi | Member |
| 22. | Shri A.B. Vajpayee
Leader of Opposition in Lok Sabha | Member |
| 23. | Shri Somnath Chatterjee, MP | Member |
| 24. | Shri Samar Guha, ex-MP | Member |
| 25. | Shri Chitta Basu, MP | Member |
| 26. | Shri George Fernandes | Member |

.../-

27.	Ms. Mamta Banerjee, MP	Member
28.	Shri Vishnu Kant Shastri, MP	Member
29.	Smt. Renuka Chaudhari, MP	Member
30.	Shri A.K. Sen, MP	Member
31.	Shri Manoranjan Bhakta, MP	Member
32.	Shri Ajit Panja, MP	Member
33.	Shri Murli Manohar Joshi, MP	Member
34.	Shri Sikander Bakht, MP	Member
35.	Shri G.K. Moopnar, MP	Member
36.	Shri Dilip Singh Judev, MP	Member
37.	Shri Chaturanan Mishra Minister of Agriculture	Member
38.	Shri Syed Shahabuddin, MP	Member
39.	Prof. D.P. Chattopadhyay ex-Governor	Member
40.	Shri Farooq Abdullah Chief Minister, J&K	Member
41.	Shri Madhu Dandavate Dy. Chairman, Planning Commission	Member
42.	Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee, ex-MP	Member
43.	Shri Tridib Chaudhary, MP	Member
44.	Shri Shashi Bhushan, ex-MP	Member
45.	Col. G.S. Dhillon, Ex-INA Representative	Member
46.	Capt. Laxmi Sehgal, Ex-INA Representative	Member
47.	Dr. Bipin Chandra Jawaharlal Nehru University	Member
48.	Dr. Dilip Sinha, Upacharya, Vishwa Bharti University	Member
49.	Shri Shanko Chaudhary, New Delhi	Member
50.	Shri P.N. Haksar	Member
51.	Prof. R.N. Singh Vice-Chancellor Rajasthan University	Member
52.	Dr. V.R. Mehta Vice-Chancellor Delhi University	Member
53.	Prof. R.K. Dasgupta, Calcutta University, Calcutta	Member

(37)

54. Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose
Netaji Research Bureau
Calcutta Member
55. Shri H.Y. Sharda Prasad Member
56. Ms. Anita Bose, Vienna Member
57. Justice A.C. Gupta, Retd.
Supreme Court Judge Member
58. Shri Nikhil Chakravarty, Mainstream Member
59. Prof. Bimal Prasad, Ex-
Ambassador to Nepal Member
60. Shri Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar,
Ex-Law Minister, West Bengal Member
61. Shri Radha Nath Rath
Editor, Sang, Cuttack Member
62. Dr. Amol K. Mukherjee, Principal
Presidency College, Calcutta Member
63. Principal, Scottish Church College
Calcutta Member
64. Shri Aveek Sarkar, Editor, Anand
Bazar Patrika Member
65. Prof. Amallesh Tripathy, Calcutta Member
66. Shri S.N. Dwivedi Member
67. Dr. Najma Heptulla Member
68. Smt. Sukhbans Kaur Member
69. Mrs. Anita Pfaff, Augsburg, Germany Member
70. Sri Amiya Bose, Ex-MP Member
71. Shri Somen Mitra, MLA
Legislative Assembly of West Bengal Member
72. Shri Jainal Abedian, MLA
Legislative Assembly of West Bengal Member
73. Minister of State for Education
& Culture Member
74. Shri R. Venkataraman, Former
President of India Member
75. Shri S. Nijalingappa, Former
President of Indian National
Congress Member
76. Dr. M.N. Chakraborty, Former Vice-
Chancellor, Jhadvapur University,
Calcutta Member

77. Shri B.C. Dutt
Yusuf Meherally Centre, Tara,
P.O.: Barapada, Taluka Panvel,
Distt. Raigad, Maharashtra
Distt Member
78. Shri K.N. Tickoo,
Chentik, 124-B, 12th Floor,
Jolly Maker Chamber No.2
Nariman Point, Bombay
Member
79. Chief Minister, Assam
Member
80. Chief Minister, Nagaland
Member
81. Secretary, Department of Culture
Member-Secretary

39

Composition of the Sub-Committee of the
National Committee for Celebrating the Birth
Centenary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------|
| 1. | HRM | Chairman |
| 2. | EAM | Member |
| 3. | MOS (Defence) | Member |
| 4. | Smt. Najma Heptulla | Member |
| 5. | Shri Chaturanan Mishra | Member |
| 6. | Minister of State (Culture & Education) | Member |
| 7. | Chief Minister, Assam | Member |
| 8. | Chief Minister, Nagaland | Member |
| 9. | Shri Chitta Basu, MP | Member |
| 10. | Capt. Laxmi Sehgal | Member |
| 11. | Dr. Sisir Kumar Bose | Member |
| 12. | Mrs. Anita Pfaff | Member |
| 13. | Shri S.N. Dwivedi | Member |
| 14. | Shri Nikhil Chakravarty | Member |
| 15. | Shri G.S. Dhillon | Member |
| 16. | Shri Shashi Bhushan | Member |
| 17. | Shri B.C. Dutt | Member |
| 18. | Shri K.N. Tickoo | Member |
| 19. | Secretary (Culture) | Member-Secretary |

N.B. : The Sub-Committee of the National Committee in its meeting held on 25th October, 1996 have recommended inclusion of Shri S. Nijalingappa and Prof. Samar Guha as Members of the Sub-Committee. A proposal in this regard is being sent to PMO

TOP SECRET

No.25/4/NGO(Pt)-Vol.V
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

NOTE FOR THE CABINET

Subject : Proposal to bring the mortal remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan to India.

The mortal remains of Netaji are now kept in the Bose Academy in Tokyo. The pressure to return the ashes come chiefly from the associates of Netaji, who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy, who is in poor health. Besides, Foreign Minister Y. Kono during his meeting with EAM in September 1995, had conveyed that he personally felt that it would be better to return the ashes to his homeland and to his family. In addition, there is a possibility that India may be asked by the Bose Academy to take charge of the mortal remains of Netaji. It would not be possible for India to refuse to take possession of the mortal remains. Therefore, a decision is required to be taken urgently as to what is to be done with these mortal remains.

BACKGROUND NOTE : VARIOUS REPORTS AND OPPOSITION TO CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

1. Netaji's death is an issue surcharged with emotions. The issue of whether he actually died in the plane crash of August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, has been questioned by some individuals and organizations.

(a) Shah Nawaz Committee Report: In response to a public demand, the Government of India appointed a 3-member committee on April 5, 1956, "to inquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith". The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. While S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, signed the report, Shri Suresh Chander Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by this dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

No. 25/4/NGO(Pt)-Vol.V
Ministry of External Affairs

(b) Khosla Commission of Inquiry: In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains, and there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on July 11, 1970, one-man Commission of Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as sole member. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Taiwan and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission, were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the findings. The report of the Commission, along with the memorandum of action taken thereon, was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on September 3, 1974.

- c) Extract of a letter dated 19th June, 1966 written by Shah Nawaz Khan, M.P to the then Foreign Secretary Shri S. Dutt about Col. Figgess's report

During the course of his evidence before the Shah Nawaz Committee in Tokyo, one Col. J.G. Figgess is reported to have stated in September 1945 that he had received orders in September 1945 from either the Headquarters of Supreme Allied Commander S.E. Asia Command, Kandy or the Director of Military Intelligence India, asking him to carry out enquiries in Tokyo and Formosa to ascertain the truth about the story of the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. These enquiries were carried out by him and Col. Figgess was positive that a copy of this report would be available with the British Government. He has also sent a copy of his report to the then Government of India (either the Director of Military Intelligence, GHQ India or the Director of Intelligence Branch, New Delhi).

High Commissioner's reference dated 27th February, 1978 to Lord Mountbatten after the publication of the classified document called "The Transfer of Powers 1942-47". Lord Mountbatten stated the following "My archives have been searched and there is no official record of his death and I know that this doubt was shared by Wavell himself but in a book, "The End of the War in Asia" by Louis Allen, who served as a Japanese language officer in India and Burma during and at the end of the war, he described in detail the air crash on the 18th August 1945 in which Chandra Bose died.

42

In this book he also states that in 1956 a mission was sent to Japan to enquire into the crash and although Suresh Bose still stuck to the belief that his brother was alive in the Soviet Union, other members of the mission were convinced by the evidence of the 67 witnesses who were called, that he had died in the crash. The fact that he has never surfaced any where to my knowledge makes it appear more than ever clear he was in fact killed in the crash.

The letter you quote from Vol.VI of "The Transfer of Power" is dated the 23rd August but it is reply to a letter written on the 11th August by Sir Evan Jenkins, that is, seven days before Chandra Bose's death.

H.V. Hodson, author of "The Great Divide", appears to accept without question the death of Chandra Bose, and he had access to the papers in my archives when preparing to write his book.

d) Shri Samar Guha moved a Motion in Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977, urging the Government to set up a 3-man commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of the disappearance of Netaji. The motion was discussed at length in 1977 and also in 1978. On the 28th August, 1978 the Prime Minister intervening in the debate observed:

"There have been two enquiries into the report of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the air-crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku airfield during his air-journey to Manchuria, one by a Committee presided over by Maj.General Shah Nawaz Khan and the second by a one-man Commission of Inquiry headed by Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. The majority report of the first Committee and Shri Khosla held the report of the death as true. Since then, reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness of the conclusions reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive. At the same time Government feels that no useful purpose would be served by having any further inquiry. I hope that in the light of this statement my Hon. friend will withdraw his motion".

Thereafter Prof. Guha withdrew his motion. While doing so he declared in the House:

"Today, I cannot express my gratitude to the Prime Minister because today ends a crusade that in my humble way I was trying to conduct on behalf of the people of India at least to see that officially and legally Netaji is not declared dead".

43

No.25/4/NGO(Pt)-Vol.V
Ministry of External Affairs

The question of authenticity of the ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple in Japan as those of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose remained inconclusive. As indicated by the then Prime Minister in the House the Government did not contemplate any fresh enquiry into the matter. It was, however, found that the point raised by Shri Guha in the speech in the House had been fully examined in the Home Ministry in the context of the Khosla Commission findings and no fresh grounds requiring further investigations by a new commission had been advanced by him. The matter was, therefore, placed before the CCPA with the following proposal:

"The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in the air crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or/by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February, 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

(d) Report of the Japanese Foreign Office: In a note verbale issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of India in Japan, dated January 31, 1956, the Foreign Office forwarded a report prepared by their Ministry on the cause of death and other matters related to late Subhash Chandra Bose. The investigation report incorporated the fact that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died on August 18, 1945 at 7 PM. The report, inter alia, included sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, along with rough sketch map of the airport, aircraft, and the Taipei Army Hospital. This report was taken into account by both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Inquiry.

UNION CABINET DECISION OF FEBRUARY 8, 1995

2. The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects.

PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS

3. The ashes are currently kept in an urn on the right side of the main altar in the Renkoji Temple in the outskirts (but within the city) of Tokyo. Like all shrines in Japan, there is no security except what is ensured by the reverence and respect shown by the Japanese towards religious places. The shrine is not exclusively devoted to the ashes of Netaji, and is visited by worshippers who do not necessarily go there to pay respect to the ashes. Strengthening of security is not likely to be received kindly, as this is a place of worship open to all. Furthermore, any suggestion from us could well revive the occasional suggestions from the Japanese that we should take the ashes to India.

4. The shrine is looked after by Rev. Yasufumi Mochizuki, whose father was the priest of the shrine earlier and had personally brought the ashes from Taipei about 50 years ago. Amongst the list of members of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy, he is the youngest and is 55 years old. Rev. Mochizuki appears to be quite happy to carry on the work of looking after the ashes and has told our Embassy that he has no intention of doing anything without the full consultation and approval of Japanese and Indian Governments. We donate Yen 600,000 annually, for the upkeep. It was felt that the contribution could perhaps be increased to Yen 1 million. As per PM's directive dated 30th November, 1995, MEA // processed the proposal and have increased Government of India's annual contribution to the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo from Yen 600,000/- to Yen One million.

PRESSURE FOR REMOVAL OF ASHES TO INDIA

5. Our Ambassador's impression is that such pressure as there is, comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy. He is in poor health. At the memorial service on August 19, 1994, Mr. Hayashi had said that that would be the last memorial service "in keeping with Buddhist tradition and practice". While it is not clear that there is any rule for discontinuance of the memorial service after 50 years, the younger members appear to be quite willing to carry on the memorial service although they would all be happy to see Netaji's ashes repatriated to India with due honour and ceremony.

6. Ambassador's remarks on the "present arrangements" and "pressure for removal of ashes to India" were conveyed to the Home Secretary by Foreign Secretary in June, 1995.

351 (n)/96
4-4-96

VIEWS OF JAPANESE FOREIGN OFFICE

7. (a) The Japanese Foreign Office has asked us whether, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of Netaji's death and the forthcoming centenary of his birth (January 23, 1997), we propose to take the ashes back to India. This has been more in the nature of an inquiry than a suggestion. It is unlikely that the Foreign Office would do anything without consulting us and seeking our concurrence.

EAM'S talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Kono

(b) During EAM's visit to Japan, Foreign Minister Yoheio Kono referred to the visit of EAM to Renkoji temple on 8 September, 1995 and said that there were many Japanese who respected Netaji Bose. The background to the issue of Netaji's ashes was better understood when one notes that the people taking care of the ashes are getting old. But the issue remains unresolved. FMYK sought EAM's candid assessment. EAM replied that it was one of the issues which India is addressing. The centenary celebration of Netaji was falling next year. Some family members, specially one of Netaji's nephews, had raised strong objection to the taking of ashes to India. He belongs to a political party which does not believe that Netaji died on that particular occasion. The Government's earlier decision to award the Bharat Ratna to Netaji posthumously was challenged in the court on the ground that his death had not been clearly established. At the same time, however, there was an important section including INA veterans, which feels strongly that the ashes should be kept in a monument in India dedicated to Netaji. We are already talking to them. This month we are also continuing discussion with Netaji's relatives to resolve the issue. India is grateful to the Japanese Government and people for protecting the ashes for so long with reverence. FMYK said that many people in Japan have respect for Netaji and there was no inconvenience in keeping the ashes here. However, he personally felt that it would be better to return the ashes to his homeland and to his family. EAM said that India would give weight to the views of his daughter who was in favour of taking the ashes to India. In any case, the issue was expected to be resolved soon.

STAND OF THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE

8. In a note verbale dated October 27, 1995, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, informed us that as a result of investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

MEA'S SUGGESTIONS

9. MEA suggested that in view of the widespread sentiments Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. In doing so, the following preparatory action was envisaged:

i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes... public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes, or

ii) Alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions who would give a call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

MHA'S STAND

10. Based on the inputs received from MEA and IB, it was felt that if a decision is taken to bring the ashes back to India, creation of favourable public opinion will be a crucial step in the realisation of this objective. Some members of the Bose family, particularly Shri Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and individuals like Prof Samar Guha and members of the Forward Bloc, are not reconciled to the fact that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku. It would, therefore, be necessary to take members of Netaji's family into confidence in the first place by convincing them of the genuineness of the ashes. The question of an appropriate memorial involving the mortal remains shall also have to be addressed in due course.

PROPOSAL OF ASHIS C. RAY OF CNN

11. Ashis C. Ray of CNN, who is the grandson of Netaji's elder brother, visited Japan about a year ago and had met officials at the Foreign Office. On September 5, 1995, Shri Ray proposed to the Prime Minister, in a fax message, to direct conducting of a DNA test which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji Temple are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Block, and such like". He stated that a blood sample could be taken from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC Col. Habibur Rahman), to carry out the tests.

47

No.25/4/NGO(Pt)-Vol.V
Ministry of External Affairs

Mr. Ashish Ray claimed that he learnt in November, 1995 that Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi (The doctor who attended on Netaji Subhash Bose after the plane crash on August 18, 1945 at Taihoku) was alive and with the help of a Japanese colleague interviewed him. In a published article in the Statesman on 12.12.95, Mr. Ashish Ray stated categorically that Netaji Subhash Bose died after being involved in a plane crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945 and that Dr. Yoshimi confirmed to him having written the death certificate of Netaji Subhash Bose.

VIEWS OF NETAJI'S DAUGHTER

12. Ms. Anita Pfaff, Netaji's daughter from his German wife, had visited Delhi for discussions with other members of the family and been in touch with the Japanese Ambassador in Delhi in February 1995. She had also written to some associates of Netaji, including Hayashi. EAM met her in Germany in October 1995. During discussion with EAM, she expressed her willingness to go along with the proposal of bringing back the ashes to India but did not approve of the DNA test.

VIEWS OF OTHER IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF NETAJI'S FAMILY

13. While Dr. Sisir Bose supports the idea of bringing back the ashes, Late Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew had been the most vociferous skeptic of the air crash episode and had opposed any proposal of bringing back the ashes.

14. This issues with the approval of the External Affairs Minister.

S. / Haidar

(Salman Haidar)
Foreign Secretary

18

TOP SECRET

-9-

No.25/4/NGO(Pt)-Vol.1
Ministry of External Affairs

STATEMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE

Subject : Proposal to bring the mortal remains of Netaji
Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India.

Gist of decision
required

Projected benefits/results

Time schedule or manner
of implementations/
reporting to Cabinet
Secretariat

A decision is required to be taken urgently as to what is to be done with the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose now kept in Renkoji Temple in Japan.

To forestall a crisis in birth centenary year of Netaji in case India is asked to take charge of the mortal remains of Netaji by Japanese Government and pressure groups of Bose Academy.

To be decided as per directions of the Cabinet

(SALMAN HAIDAR)
FOREIGN SECRETARY

सं. 25/4/एन जी ओ(पार्ट) खण्ड-पंचम
विदेश मंत्रालय
नई दिल्ली

मंत्रिमंडल के लिए टिप्पणी

विषय: नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के पार्थिव अवशेषों
को जापान से भारत लाने का प्रस्ताव ।

नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेष इस समय टोक्यो स्थित बोस अकादमी में रखे हुए हैं । नेता जी के पार्थिव अवशेषों को भारत वापस लाने के लिए मुख्यतः नेताजी के सहयोगियों की ओर से दबाव आता रहता है । नेताजी के ये सहयोगी वयोवृद्ध तो हैं ही और साथ ही वे यह भी मानते हैं कि नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेषों को भारत लाने की जिम्मेदारी उनकी है । वे ऐसा महसूस करते हैं कि उनके बाद ऐसा कोई व्यक्ति नहीं रह जाएगा जो नेताजी की स्मृति को उचित सम्मान दे सके । इन व्यक्तियों में से भी अपेक्षाकृत वयोवृद्ध व्यक्ति इसके लिए दबाव डाल रहे हैं, विशेषकर बोस अकादमी के सचिव श्री हया शी और इनका स्वास्थ्य भी ठीक नहीं रहता है । इसके अतिरिक्त विदेश मंत्री श्री वाई कोनो ने सितम्बर, 1995 में भारत के विदेश मंत्री के साथ अपनी बैठक में यह कहा था कि वे स्वयं यह महसूस करते हैं कि नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेष उनकी मातृभूमि वापस लाकर उनके परिवार को सौंपना मुनासिब रहेगा । इसके अलावा यह भी संभावना है कि बोस अकादमी भारत को यह कह सकती है कि वह नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेषों को संभालने का दायित्व ग्रहण कर लें । नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेषों को संभालने का दायित्व ग्रहण करने से इन्कार करना भारत के लिए मुमकिन नहीं होगा । इसलिए नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेषों के संबंध में हमें क्या करना है, इस बारे में तत्काल निर्णय लेना होगा ।

पृष्ठभूमि टिप्पणी: विभिन्न रिपोर्टों और निकाले गए निष्कर्षों का विरोध

1. नेताजी के निधन का मामला भावनाओं से जुड़ा हुआ है । कुछ व्यक्तियों और संगठनों ने इस बात पर सवालिया निशान लगाया है कि क्या वास्तव में उनका निधन 18 अगस्त, 1945 की वायुयान दुर्घटना में हुआ था ।

(क) शाह नवाज समिति की रिपोर्ट: जनता की माँग पर भारत सरकार ने 5 अप्रैल, 1956 को तीन सदस्यीय समिति नियुक्त की थी जिसे निम्नलिखित की जाँच करने और उन पर भारत सरकार की रिपोर्ट पेश करने का काम सौंपा गया था । परिस्थितियाँ जिनकी वजह से नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस 16 अगस्त, 1945 के आसपास बेंकाक से रवाना हुए थे, वायुयान दुर्घटना में उनकी तथाकथित मृत्यु और उसके बाद का तत्सम्बन्धी घटना क्रम' यह समिति 2:1 के बहुमत से इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँची कि नेताजी की मृत्यु 18 अगस्त, 1945 को वायुयान दुर्घटना में साइहोकु (ताइवान) में हुई थी । हालाँकि सर्वश्री शाह नवाज खान और एस.एन. मेत्रा ने इस रिपोर्ट पर हस्ताक्षर किए थे लेकिन श्री सुरेश चन्द्र बोस ने इस निष्कर्ष से असहमति व्यक्त की थी और अपनी

असहमति रिपोर्ट पेश की थी । हालांकि इस असहमति से समिति की रिपोर्ट का महत्व काफी कम तो हुआ था लेकिन सरकार ने बहुमत की रिपोर्ट को स्वीकार कर लिया था ।

(ख) **खोसला जाँच आयोग:** व्यापक स्तर पर जनता में व्याप्त इस भावना को कि नेताजी के निधन के बारे में सच्चाई का पता लगाने की समस्या अभी भी बनी हुई है, तथा इस मामले में और आगे जाँच के लिए बराबर माँग की जाती रही है, को देखते हुए केन्द्रीय सरकार ने नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के गायब हो जाने के बारे में 11 जुलाई, 1970 को एक सदस्यीय जाँच आयोग का गठन किया था । पंजाब उच्च न्यायालय के सेवानिवृत्त मुख्य न्यायाधीश श्री जी.डी. खोसला को इस आयोग का एकमात्र सदस्य नियुक्त किया गया था । आयोग जापान, बर्मा, थाईलैंड, सिंगापुर, मलेशिया, दक्षिणी वियतनाम और ताईवान गया था तथा उसने 224 गवाहों से पूछताछ की थी (जिनमें 100 ऐसे गवाह भी शामिल हैं जिनसे विदेशों में पूछताछ की गई थी) । आयोग के समक्ष पेश की गई बड़ी संख्या में फाइलों और दस्तावेजों की जाँच की गई थी । आयोग इसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा कि नेताजी की मृत्यु ताईहोकु में 18 अगस्त, 1945 को वायुयान दुर्घटना में हुई थी । मंत्रिमंडल ने इस रिपोर्ट पर विचार किया था तथा उसके निष्कर्षों को स्वीकार कर लिया था । आयोग की रिपोर्ट तथा की गई कार्रवाई से संबद्ध ज्ञापन 3 सितम्बर, 1974 को संसद के दोनों सदनों के पटलों पर रख दिया गया था ।

(ग) श्री शाह नवाज खान, संसद सदस्य द्वारा कर्नल फिगेस की रिपोर्ट के बारे में तत्कालीन विदेश सचिव श्री एस. दत्त को लिखे 19 जून, 1966 के एक पत्र का उद्धरण ।

ऐसा कहा जाता है कि शाह नवाज समिति के समक्ष टोक्यो में अपने साक्ष्य के दौरान कर्नल जे.जी. फिगेस ने सितम्बर, 1945 में यह बताया कि उसे सुप्रीम एलाइड कमान्डर एस.ई. एशिया कमान्ड, केंडी के मुख्यालय से अथवा मिलिट्री इंटेलीजेंस इण्डिया के निदेशक से यह आदेश मिला था कि वह नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के निधन की गुत्थी के बारे में टोक्यो में जाँच करके सच्चाई का पता लगाएँ । उन्होंने यह जाँच की ओर कर्नल फिगेस ने इस बात की हामी भरी थी कि इस रिपोर्ट की एक प्रति ब्रिटेन की सरकार को उपलब्ध करा दी जाएगी । उन्होंने इस रिपोर्ट की एक प्रति भारत की तत्कालीन सरकार को (या तो मिलिट्री इंटेलीजेंस, जी एच क्यू, भारत के निदेशक को या इंटेलीजेंस ब्रांच, नई दिल्ली के निदेशक को) भेज दी थी ।

दस्तावेज 'सत्ता अन्तरण 1942-47' के प्रकाशन के बाद हार्ड कमीशनर द्वारा लार्ड माउन्टबेटन को लिखा गया 27 फरवरी, 1978 का पत्र । लार्ड माउन्टबेटन का जबाव इस प्रकार है 'मैंने अपने अभिलेखागार की जाँच की है और उनकी मृत्यु का कोई आधिकारिक रिकार्ड नहीं है और मैं जानता हूँ कि इस शंक: से स्वयं वावेल भी सहमत थे लेकिन लुईस ऐलिन, जो युद्ध के दौरान तथा उसकी समाप्ति के समय भारत और बर्मा में जापानी भाषा अधिकारी के रूप में कार्यरत थे, ने अपनी एक पुस्तक 'दि इण्ड ऑफ द वार इन एशिया' में 18 अगस्त, 1945 की वायुयान दुर्घटना का विस्तार से जिक्र किया है जिसमें सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु हुई थी ।

इस पुस्तक में उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि 1956 में एक प्रतिनिधिमंडल जापान भेजा गया था जिसे वायुयान दुर्घटना की जाँच करने का कार्य सौंपा गया था तथा हालांकि सुरेश बोस का अभी भी यह मानना है कि उनके भाई जीवित हैं और वे सोवियत संघ में हैं लेकिन इस प्रतिनिधिमंडल के अन्य सदस्य, 67 गवाहों जिन्हें गवाही के लिए बुलाया गया था, के इस साक्ष्य से आश्चर्य था कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र की मृत्यु वायुयान दुर्घटना में हुई थी । इस बात से जिसे मेरी जानकारी के अनुसार उन्होंने कहीं भी नहीं कहा है, पहले की अपेक्षा और अधिक स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र की मृत्यु वास्तव में वायुयान दुर्घटना में हुई थी ।

51

जिस पत्र का आपने हवाला दिया है वह 'सत्ता आन्तरण' के छठे खण्ड से है और उसकी तारीख 23 अगस्त है लेकिन यह पत्र सर इवान जेकिन्स के 11 अगस्त के पत्र का उत्तर है अर्थात् चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु से सात दिन पूर्व ।

यह प्रतीत होता है कि एच.वी. हडसन जो 'दी ग्रेट डिवाइड' के लेखक हैं, बिना किसी शंका के चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु को स्वीकार करते हैं, तथा जब वे अपनी किताब लिख रहे थे तो उन्होंने मेरे अभिलेखागार में रखे दस्तावेज देखे थे ।

(घ) श्री समर गुहा ने 3 अगस्त, 1977 को लोकसभा में एक प्रस्ताव पेश करके सरकार से यह अनुरोध किया था कि वह नेताजी के गायब होने की घटना की नए सिरे से जाँच कराने के लिए एक तीन सदस्यीय आयोग का गठन करे । इस प्रस्ताव पर 1977 में तथा 1978 में भी विस्तार से चर्चा हुई थी । 28 अगस्त, 1978 को प्रधानमंत्री ने बहस में हस्तक्षेप करते हुए नीचे लिखे अनुसार मत व्यक्त किया था ।

नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु के लिए हवाई यात्रा के दौरान 18 अगस्त, 1945 को ताइहोकु हवाई क्षेत्र में हवाई दुर्घटना में उनकी मृत्यु की खबर के संबंध में दो बार जांच की गई है - पहली बार मेजर जनरल शाह नवाज खान की अध्यक्षता में गठित समिति द्वारा तथा दूसरी बार पंजाब उच्च न्यायालय के सेवानिवृत्त न्यायाधीश श्री जी.डी. खोसला की अध्यक्षता में एक सदस्यीय जांच आयोग द्वारा । पहली समिति की बहुमत रिपोर्ट ने तथा श्री खोसला ने मृत्यु की खबर को सही ठहराया था तब से इन दो रिपोर्टों में निकाले गए निष्कर्षों की यथार्थता के संबंध में पर्याप्त शंकाएँ व्यक्त की जाती रही हैं तथा गवाहों के साक्ष्यों में विभिन्न महत्वपूर्ण विसंगतियाँ देखी गई हैं । कुछ और तत्कालीन सरकारी दस्तावेजी रिकार्ड भी उपलब्ध हो गया है । उन शंकाओं तथा विसंगतियों और रिकार्ड को देखते हुए सरकार इस बात को स्वीकार करने में दिक्कत महसूस करती है कि पूर्ववर्ती निष्कर्ष निर्णायक हैं । इसी बीच सरकार यह महसूस करती है कि और जांच करवाने से कोई विशेष प्रयोजन हल नहीं होगा । मुझे उम्मीद है कि मेरे इस वक्तव्य को देखते हुए मेरे माननीय मित्र अपने इस प्रस्ताव को वापिस ले लेंगे ।

इसके पश्चात् प्रो. गुहा ने अपना प्रस्ताव वापस ले लिया । ऐसा करते हुए उन्होंने सदन में यह घोषणा की :

'आज मैं प्रधानमंत्री का आभार व्यक्त नहीं कर सकता क्योंकि एक ऐसा मुहिम समाप्त हुआ जिसे मैं कम से कम यह सुनिश्चय करने के लिए भारत के लोगों की ओर से अपने विनम्र भाव से चलाने का प्रयास कर रहा था कि आधिकारिक तौर पर तथा कानूनी तौर पर नेताजी को मृत घोषित नहीं किया जाए'

जापान में रेनकोजी मन्दिर में रखे पार्थिव अवशेषों की प्रामाणिकता के बारे में यह प्रश्न अभी अनिर्णीत है कि क्या ये अवशेष नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के ही हैं जैसा कि तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री ने सदन में कहा है कि सरकार ने इस विषय में कोई और जाँच का प्रावधान नहीं किया है । तथापि यह पाया गया था कि श्री गुहा द्वारा सदन में भाषण के दौरान जो मुद्दा उठाया गया था उसकी खोसला आयोग के निष्कर्षों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में गृह मंत्रालय में पूरी-पूरी जाँच की गई थी और उन्होंने ऐसे कोई नए आधार नहीं दिए थे जिनसे किसी नए आयोग द्वारा और अगे जाँच करने की आवश्यकता प्रतीत होती हो । इसलिए इस मामले को मंत्रिमंडल की राजनीतिक मामलों की समिति के समक्ष निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव के साथ रखा गया था ।

(52)

विदेश मंत्रालय

"नेताजी की मृत्यु तथा उनके पार्थिव अवशेषों को भारत लाने का मामला भावनाओं से जुड़ा हुआ है। हम नेता श्री सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के गायब होने के संबंध में पहले ही दो बार जांच करा चुके हैं। यह स्वीकार किया जा चुका है कि नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु 18 अगस्त, 1945 को वायुयान दुर्घटना में ताइहोकु में हुई थी। इसलिए गृह मंत्रालय का यह विचार है कि एक बार फिर जांच करवाने अथवा इस समय उनके पार्थिव अवशेषों को भारत वापिस लाने से कोई विशेष प्रयोजन हल नहीं होगा क्योंकि इससे अनावश्यक तनाव पैदा हो सकता है।"

मंत्रिमंडल की राजनीतिक मामलों की समिति ने 27 फरवरी, 1991 को इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन किया था और इस मामले को समाप्त कर दिया गया था।

४५४ जापान के विदेश कार्यालय की रिपोर्ट:

जापान के विदेश मंत्रालय द्वारा जापान में स्थित भारत के राजदूतावास को जारी 31 जनवरी, 1956 के नोट वरबल द्वारा विदेश कार्यालय ने स्व. सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु की वजह तथा तत्संबंधी अन्य मामलों पर अपने कार्यालय द्वारा तैयार एक रिपोर्ट भेजी थी। इस जांच रिपोर्ट में यह बात भी शामिल थी कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु 18 1945 को सांय 7 बजे हुई थी। इस रिपोर्ट में अन्य बातों के साथ-साथ नेता जी सुभाष बोस की दुखद मृत्यु से संबंध घटनाक्रम और हवाई अड्डे, वायुयान तथा ताइपाई सैनिक अस्पताल के नक्शे का रफ आरेखण भी शामिल था। इस रिपोर्ट पर शाह नवाज समिति व खोसला जांच आयोग दोनों ने ही गौर दिया था।

8 फरवरी, 1995 का केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल का निर्णय

2. केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल ने 8 फरवरी, 1995 को नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के पार्थिव अवशेषों को जापान से भारत लाने के मामले पर विचार किया था। अंतिम निर्णय को आस्थगित हुए मंत्रिमंडल ने निदेश दिया था कि जापान में प्रबंधों की विश्वसनीयता की समुचित जांच की जाए और यह कि पार्थिव अवशेषों के उचित रखरखाव के लिए एक आकस्मिक योजना की जाए, तथा यह कि टोक्यो में हमारे राजदूत से विशेष अनुरोध किया जाए कि वे इन सभी पहलुओं की जांच करें।

वर्तमान व्यवस्था

3. पार्थिव अवशेष टोक्यो के बाहरी इलाके में रूपरन्तु शहर में रेनकोजी मंदिर में प्रमुख के दाहिने तरफ एक अस्थि कला में रखे हुए हैं। जापान में अन्य सभी पूजा स्थलों की भांति वहां पर कोई सुरक्षा इंतजाम नहीं है परन्तु जापानियों द्वारा धार्मिक स्थानों का सम्मान और आदर किया जाता है। यह पूजा स्थल अन्वय रूप से नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेषों के सम्पत्ति नहीं है तथा इस पूजा स्थल में आने वाले उपासकों के लिए वहां पर पार्थिव अवशेषों के प्रति आदर भाव प्रकट करना आवश्यक नहीं है। इस पूजा स्थल की सुरक्षा पर विचार

4. इस पूजा स्थल की देखभाल रेव थासुफमी मो वीयुकी कर रहे हैं जिनके पिता पहले इस पूजा स्थल में पुजारी थे और ये ही करीब पचास वर्ष पूर्व ताइपेयी से व्यक्तिगत तौर पर पार्थिव अवशेष लाए थे। सुभाष चन्द्र बोस अकादमी के सदस्यों की सूची में वह सबसे कम उम्र के हैं उनका उम्र 55 वर्ष है। रेव. थासुफमी मो वीयुकी पार्थिव अवशेषों की देखभाल का कार्य खुशी से कर रहे हैं उन्होंने हमारे दूतावास को बताया है कि जापानी और भारतीय सरकारों के परामर्श और अनुमोदन के बिना कोई कार्य करने की उनकी मंशा नहीं है। हम इन पार्थिव अवशेषों के रखरखाव के लिए 600,000 येन वार्षिक दान देते हैं। यह महसूस किया गया कि इस योगदान को 1 मिलियन येन तक बढ़ाया जाय। प्रधान मंत्री के 30 नवम्बर, 1995 के निर्देशानुसार विदेश मंत्रालय ने इस मामले पर कार्यवाई की है और टोक्यो में रेनको जी मंदिर को भारत सरकार का वार्षिक योगदान 600,000 येन से बढ़ा कर 1 मिलियन येन कर दिया है।

नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेषों को भारत लाने पर बल

5. हमारे राजदूत का मानना है कि ऐसा दबाव मुख्य रूप से नेताजी के सहयोगी ही डाल रहे हैं जो छु लीते पा रहे हैं और जो पार्थिव अवशेषों के प्राप्ति अपनी व्यक्तिगत जिम्मेदारी समझते हैं। ये समझते हैं कि उनके बाद नेताजी का स्मृतिको उचित सम्मान देने वाला कोई न रहेगा। नेताजी के सहयोगियों के समूह में भी जो अधिक वयोवृद्ध सदस्य हैं उन्हीं की ओर से दबाव डाला जा रहा है विशेष रूप से श्री हयासी की ओर से, जो बोस अकादमी के सचिव हैं। उनका स्वास्थ्य ठीक नहीं है। 19 अगस्त, 1994 को मेमोरियल सर्विस के अवसर पर श्री हयासी ने कहा था कि "बौद्ध परम्परा और पृथा के अनुसार" शायद यह अंतिम मेमोरियल सर्विस होगी। जबकि यह स्पष्ट नहीं है कि 50 वर्ष के बाद मेमोरियल सर्विस को बंद करने का कोई नियम है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि युवा सदस्य मेमोरियल सर्विस को जारी रखने के बहुत इच्छुक हैं हालांकि नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेषों को उचित सम्मान और सम्मारोह के साथ भारत लौटाए जाने से भी उन्हें प्रेरितता होगी।

6. "वर्तमान व्यवस्था" और "पार्थिव अवशेषों को भारत ले जाने के लिए दबाव" के संबंध में राजदूत की अभ्युक्तियों से जून, 1995 में विदेश सचिव द्वारा गृह सचिव को अवगत करा दिया गया था।

जापान के विदेश मंत्रालय के विचार

7. कृ० जापान के विदेश मंत्रालय ने हमसे पूछा है कि क्या नेताजी की 50वीं पुण्यतिथि तथा उनका जन्म शताब्दी 23 जनवरी, 1997 को देखते हुए उनकी अस्थियां भारत वापस ले जाने का हमारा कोई प्रस्ताव है। यह एक सुझाव नहीं था बल्कि मात्र एक पूछताछ के तौर पर कही गई बात थी। विदेश मंत्रालय हमारे परामर्श अथवा हमारी सहमति के बिना शायद कोई कार्रवाई नहीं करेगा।

54

विदेश मंत्री की जापान के विदेश मंत्री कोनो के साथ बातचीत

(ख) विदेश मंत्री की जापान की यात्रा के दौरान जापान के विदेश मंत्री योहियो कोनो ने विदेश मंत्री की 8 सितम्बर, 1995 की रेनकोजी मंदिर की यात्रा का जिक्र करते हुए कहा कि ऐसे बहुत से जापानी हैं जो नेताजी बोस का आदर करते हैं। नेताजी के पार्थिव अवशेषों के मसले की पृष्ठभूमि बेहतर ढंग से समझाई जा सकती है यदि इस बात पर गौर किया जाए कि वे लोग जो इन अवशेषों की देखभाल कर रहे हैं, अब वृद्ध होते जा रहे हैं। लेकिन इस मसले का अभी कोई हल नहीं ढूँढ़ा जा सका है। जापान के विदेश मंत्री योहियो कोनो ने विदेश मंत्री के सुस्पष्ट विचार जानने चाहे। विदेश मंत्री ने कहा कि भारत के विचारधीन मसलों में यह मसला भी शामिल है। नेताजी की जन्म शताब्दी अगले वर्ष होगी। उनके परिवार के कुछ सदस्यों ने विशेषकर नेताजी के एक भतीजे ने उनकी अस्थियां भारत ले जाए जाने पर घोर आपत्ति जाहिर की उनका जिस राजनीतिक दल से संबंध है, वे यह नहीं मानता कि नेताजी की मृत्यु उस मोके पर हुई थी। सरकार का नेताजी के मरणोपरान्त भारत रत्न की उपाधि प्रदान करने के निर्णय को न्यायालय में इस आधार पर चुनौती दी गई उनकी मृत्यु स्पष्ट रूप से प्रमाणित नहीं की जा सकी है लेकिन इसके साथ ही 'आजाद हिन्द फौज' के सदस्यों सहित एक ऐसा महत्वपूर्ण वर्ग भी है, जिसके विचार से यह अस्थियाँ भारत में नेताजी को समर्पित स्मारक में रखी जानी चाहिए। हम उनसे बात कर रहे हैं। इस महीने इस मुद्दे को सुलझाने के उद्देश्य से हम नेताजी के रिश्तेदारों से भी बातचीत कर रहे हैं। भारत जापान की सरकार और जनता का आभारी है कि उन्होंने इतने आदर भाव से इतने लम्बे अरसे से इन अस्थियों को सुरक्षित रखा हुआ है। जापान के विदेश मंत्री योहियो कोनो ने कहा कि जापान में बहुत से लोग नेताजी के प्रति आदर भाव रखते हैं और अस्थियों को वहाँ रखने में उन्हें कोई असुविधा नहीं है। तथापि वह व्यक्तिगत रूप से यह महसूस करते हैं कि इन अस्थियों को उनकी मातृभूमि तथा उनके परिवार के पास ले जाना बेहतर होगा। विदेश मंत्री ने कहा कि भारत उनकी सुपुत्री के विचारों को महत्व देगा जो चाहती हैं कि ये अस्थियाँ भारत ले जाई जाएं। हर हालत में ये मसला शीघ्र ही हल हो जाएगा, ऐसी उम्मीद है।

रूस के विदेश मंत्रालय की स्थिति

8. रूसी परिषद के विदेश मंत्रालय ने 27 अक्टूबर, 1995 के अपने नोट में हमें यह सूचित किया कि रूस के फेडरल सिविलरिटी सर्विस के केन्द्रीय अभिलेखागार संग्रह तथा रशियन सेक्टर फॉर रिटेन्शन एण्ड पेरियुसल ऑफ डेक्यूमेन्ट्स ऑफ मार्टिन हिस्ट्री में की गई जाँच-पड़ताल के परिणामस्वरूप ऐसी कोई जानकारी सामने नहीं आई है, जिससे यह प्रमाणित हो सके कि सुभाष चन्द्र बोस 1945 में तथा उसके बाद भूतपूर्व सोवियत संघ में रहे हों।

विदेश मंत्रालय के सुझाव

9. विदेश मंत्रालय ने सुझाव दिया कि आम भावनाओं को मद्देनजर रखते हुए 1997 में नेताजी की जन्म शताब्दी उपयुक्त ढंग से मनाई जानी चाहिए। ये कार्रवाई भारत की स्वतंत्रता में उनकी भूमिका और उनके योगदान को जनता द्वारा पूर्णरूप से स्वीकार किए जाने का एक भाग होगी। इसके लिए तैयारी स्वरूप निम्नलिखित कार्रवाई का प्रस्ताव है :-



(I) इस विवाद को समाप्त करने और अस्थियां वापिस लाने के पक्ष में आमराय तैयार करना
गणमान्य व्यक्तियों तथा लोगों को इस बात के लिए प्रोत्साहित करना कि वे इन अस्थियों को वापिस लाने के लिए सरकार से अनुरोध करते हुए संसद में तथा अन्यत्र वक्तव्य दें, अथवा

(II) विकल्प स्वरूप नेताजी की जन्म शताब्दी मनाने के लिए एक समिति की स्थापना, जिसमें विभिन्न राजनीतिक विचारधारा वाले गणमान्य व्यक्ति होंगे और जो दिवंगत नेता की अस्थियां भारत वापिस लाने का आह्वान करेंगे ।

गृह मंत्रालय की स्थिति

10. विदेश मंत्रालय तथा आसूचना विभाग से प्राप्त जानकारी के आधार पर ये महसूस किया गया कि अगर ये अस्थियां भारत वापिस लाने का निर्णय लिया जाता है तो इस उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिए अनुकूल जनमत तैयार करना एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम होगा । बोस परिवार के कुछ सदस्य विशेषकर नेताजी के भतीजे श्री अमियनाथ बोस तथा प्रोफेसर सगर गुहा और फारवर्ड ब्लॉक के सदस्य यह बात नहीं मानते कि नेताजी की मृत्यु ताइहोकू में विमान दुर्घटना में हुई । अतः सबसे पहले यह जरूरी होगा कि नेताजी के परिवार के सदस्यों को इस बात के लिए आश्वस्त किया जाए कि ये अस्थियां नेताजी की ही हैं । एक उपयुक्त स्मारक तथा उसमें इन पार्थिव अवशेषों की स्थापना के प्रश्न पर भी समय रहते विचार करना होगा ।

सी एन एन के आशीष सी. रे का प्रस्ताव

11. सी एन एन की आशीष सी. रे ने जो नेताजी के बड़े भाई के पोत्र हैं, लगभग एक वर्ष पहले जापान की यात्रा की जहाँ उन्होंने विदेश मंत्रालय के अधिकारियों से मुलाकात की । श्री रे ने 5 सितम्बर, 1995 को एक फेक्स संदेश द्वारा प्रधानमंत्री को यह प्रस्ताव दिया कि इन अस्थियों का डी.एन.ए. टेस्ट कराया जाए, जिससे निश्चित रूप से तथा वैज्ञानिक आधार पर प्रमाणित किया जा सके कि रेनकोजी मन्दिर में जो अस्थियां रखी हुई हैं वह अस्थियां नेताजी की हैं या नहीं । इसके अलावा उन्होंने यह भी सुझाव दिया कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय विशेषज्ञों के एक दल को जिनमें एक विशेषज्ञ हैदराबाद स्थित डी.एन.ए. सेंटर से हो, 'यह काम सौंपा जाए तथा बोस परिवार से, फारवर्ड ब्लॉक से तथा ऐसे ही कुछ लोग पर्यवेक्षक के रूप में नियुक्त किए जाए' उन्होंने कहा कि यह परीक्षण करने के लिए किसी एक रिश्तेदार के रक्त का नमूना तथा अस्थियों के रोहड़की के टुकड़े अथवा एक दाँत ले लिया (जो नेताजी के ए.डी.सी. कर्नल हबीबुररहमान के कथनानुसार संभवतः इस कलश में मौजूद है)।

श्री आशीष रे ने कहा कि नवम्बर, 1995 में उन्हें यह पता चला कि डॉक्टर ताने योशी योशिमी (वह डॉक्टर जिसमें 18 अगस्त, 1945 को ताइहोकु में विमान दुर्घटना के बाद नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस का उपचार किया था) जीवित है और उन्होंने एक जापानी मित्र की मदद से उनका साक्षात्कार लिया । 12.12.95 के स्टेट्समेन में प्रकाशित एक लेख में श्री आशीष रे ने स्पष्ट रूप से यह कहा कि 18 अगस्त, 1945 को ताइहोकू में एक विमान दुर्घटना में नेताजी सुभाष बोस की मृत्यु हो गई और यह कि डॉ. योशिमी ने इस बात की पुष्टि की कि उन्होंने नेताजी सुभाष बोस का मृत्यु प्रमाण-पत्र जारी किया ।

(56)

नेताजी की सुपुत्री के विचार

नेताजी की जर्मनी पत्नी से उनकी पुत्री सुश्री अनीता प्फाफ़: फरवरी, 1995 में परिवार के अन्य लोगों के साथ बातचीत करने दिल्ली आई और दिल्ली में जापान के राजदूत से भी सम्पर्क किया। उन्होंने हयाशी सहित नेताजी के कुछ साथियों को पत्र भी लिखे। विदेश मंत्री अक्टूबर 1995 में जर्मनी में उनसे मिले। विदेश मंत्री के साथ बातचीत के दौरान उन्होंने नेताजी की अस्थियाँ भारत ले जाए जाने के प्रस्ताव पर अपनी सहमति व्यक्त की लेकिन डी.एन.ए. टेस्ट के लिए वह सहमत नहीं थीं।

नेताजी के परिवार के अन्य महत्वपूर्ण सदस्यों के विचार

13. यद्यपि डॉ. शिशिर बोस अस्थियाँ वापस लाने के हक में हैं तथापि नेताजी के भतीजे स्व. अमियनाथ बोस को इस बात पर संदेह था कि नेताजी की विमान दुर्घटना में मृत्यु हुई और अस्थियाँ वापस लाने के किसी भी प्रस्ताव का उन्होंने विरोध किया।

14. यह विदेश मंत्री के अनुमोदन से जारी किया जा रहा है।

(सलमान हैदर)
विदेश सचिव

कार्यान्वयन अनुसूची का ब्योरा

(57)

विषय: नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की अस्थियों को जापान से भारत वापिस लाने का प्रस्ताव

अपेक्षित निर्णय का सार

सम्भावित लाभ/परिणाम

कार्यान्वयन मंत्रिमण्डल सचिवालय व
का तरीका अथवा समय अनुसूची

इस विषय में शीघ्र निर्णय लेना
अपेक्षित है कि जापान में रेनकोजी
मन्दिर में रखी गई नेताजी सुभाष
चन्द्र बोस की अस्थियों का क्या
किया जाए ।

नेताजी के जन्म शताब्दी वर्ष में
जापान की सरकार द्वारा अथवा
बोस अकादमी के दल द्वारा नेताजी की
अस्थियों को भारत ले जाने के लिए
कहने अथवा दबाव डालने की
स्थिति में उत्पन्न होने वाले
किसी संकट को टोकना ।

मंत्रिमण्डल के निर्देशों के अनुसार नि
जाएगा ।

(सलमान हे
विदेश सचिव)

(14)

TOP SECRET

No.25/4/NGO(Pt)-Vol.V
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

58

NOTE FOR THE CABINET

Subject : Proposal to bring the mortal remains of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan to India.

The mortal remains of Netaji are now kept in the Bose Academy in Tokyo. The pressure to return the ashes comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji, who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy, who is in poor health. Besides, Foreign Minister Y. Kono during his meeting with EAM in September 1995, had conveyed that he personally felt that it would be better to return the ashes to his homeland and to his family. In addition, there is a possibility that India may be asked by the Bose Academy to take charge of the mortal remains of Netaji. It would not be possible for India to refuse to take possession of the mortal remains. Therefore, a decision is required to be taken urgently as to what is to be done with these mortal remains.

BACKGROUND NOTE : VARIOUS REPORTS AND OPPOSITION TO CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

1. Netaji's death is an issue surcharged with emotions. The issue of whether he actually died in the plane crash of August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, has been questioned by some individuals and organizations.

(a) Shah Nawaz Committee Report: In response to a public demand, the Government of India appointed a 3-member committee on April 5, 1956, "to inquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith". The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. While S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, signed the report, Shri Suresh Chander Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by this dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

59

(b) Khosla Commission of Inquiry: In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains, and there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on July 11, 1970, one-man Commission of Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as sole member. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Taiwan and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission, were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the findings. The report of the Commission, along with the memorandum of action taken thereon, was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on September 3, 1974.

- c) Extract of a letter dated 19th June, 1966 written by Shah Nawaz Khan, M.P to the then Foreign Secretary Shri S. Dutt about Col. Figgess's report

During the course of his evidence before the Shah Nawaz Committee in Tokyo, one Col. J.G. Figgess is reported to have stated in September 1945 that he had received orders in September 1945 from either the Headquarters of Supreme Allied Commander S.E. Asia Command, Kandy or the Director of Military Intelligence India, asking him to carry out enquiries in Tokyo and Formosa to ascertain the truth about the story of the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. These enquiries were carried out by him and Col. Figgess was positive that a copy of this report would be available with the British Government. He has also sent a copy of his report to the then Government of India (either the Director of Military Intelligence, GHQ India or the Director of Intelligence Branch, New Delhi).

High Commissioner's reference dated 27th February, 1978 to Lord Mountbatten after the publication of the classified document called "The Transfer of Powers 1942-47". Lord Mountbatten stated the following "My archives have been searched and there is no official record of his death and I know that this doubt was shared by Wavell himself but in a book, "The End of the War in Asia" by Louis Allen, who served as a Japanese language officer in India and Burma during and at the end of the war, he described in detail the air crash on the 18th August 1945 in which Chandra Bose died.

60

In this book he also states that in 1956 a mission was sent to Japan to enquire into the crash and although Suresh Bose still stuck to the belief that his brother was alive in the Soviet Union, other members of the mission were convinced by the evidence of the 67 witnesses who were called, that he had died in the crash. The fact that he has never surfaced any where to my knowledge makes it appear more than ever clear he was in fact killed in the crash.

The letter you quote from Vol.VI of "The Transfer of Power" is dated the 23rd August but it is reply to a letter written on the 11th August by Sir Evan Jenkins, that is, seven days before Chandra Bose's death.

H.V. Hodson, author of "The Great Divide", appears to accept without question the death of Chandra Bose, and he had access to the papers in my archives when preparing to write his book.

d) Shri Samar Guha moved a Motion in Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977, urging the Government to set up a 3-man commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of the disappearance of Netaji. The motion was discussed at length in 1977 and also in 1978. On the 28th August, 1978 the Prime Minister intervening in the debate observed:

"There have been two enquiries into the report of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the air-crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku airfield during his air-journey to Manchuria, one by a Committee presided over by Maj.General Shah Nawaz Khan and the second by a one-man Commission of Inquiry headed by Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. The majority report of the first Committee and Shri Khosla held the report of the death as true. Since then, reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness of the conclusions reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive. At the same time Government feels that no useful purpose would be served by having any further inquiry. I hope that in the light of this statement my Hon. friend will withdraw his motion".

Thereafter Prof. Guha withdrew his motion. While doing so he declared in the House:

"Today, I cannot express my gratitude to the Prime Minister because today ends a crusade that in my humble way I was trying to conduct on behalf of the people of India at least to see that officially and legally Netaji is not declared dead".

6

The question of authenticity of the ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple in Japan as those of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose remained inconclusive. As indicated by the then Prime Minister in the House the Government did not contemplate any fresh enquiry into the matter. It was, however, found that the point raised by Shri Guha in the speech in the House had been fully examined in the Home Ministry in the context of the Khosla Commission findings and no fresh grounds requiring further investigations by a new commission had been advanced by him. The matter was, therefore, placed before the CCPA with the following proposal:

"The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in the air crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or/bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February, 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

(d) Report of the Japanese Foreign Office: In a note verbale issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of India in Japan, dated January 31, 1956, the Foreign Office forwarded a report prepared by their Ministry on the cause of death and other matters related to late Subhash Chandra Bose. The investigation report incorporated the fact that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died on August 18, 1945 at 7 PM. The report, inter alia, included sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, along with rough sketch map of the airport, aircraft, and the Taipei Army Hospital. This report was taken into account by both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Inquiry.

UNION CABINET DECISION OF FEBRUARY 8, 1995

2. The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects.

PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS

3. The ashes are currently kept in an urn on the right side of the main altar in the Renkoji Temple in the outskirts (but within the city) of Tokyo. Like all shrines in Japan, there is no security except what is ensured by the reverence and respect shown by the Japanese towards religious places. The shrine is not exclusively devoted to the ashes of Netaji, and is visited by worshippers who do not necessarily go there to pay respect to the ashes. Strengthening of security is not likely to be received kindly, as this is a place of worship open to all. Furthermore, any suggestion from us could well revive the occasional suggestions from the Japanese that we should take the ashes to India.

4. The shrine is looked after by Rev. Yasufumi Mochizuki, whose father was the priest of the shrine earlier and had personally brought the ashes from Taipei about 50 years ago. Amongst the list of members of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy, he is the youngest and is 55 years old. Rev. Mochizuki appears to be quite happy to carry on the work of looking after the ashes and has told our Embassy that he has no intention of doing anything without the full consultation and approval of Japanese and Indian Governments. We used to donate Yen 600,000 annually, for the upkeep. It was felt that the contribution could perhaps be increased to Yen 1 million. As per PM's directive dated 30th November, 1995, MEA processessed the proposal and have increased Government of India's annual contribution to the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo from Yen 600,000/- to Yen One million.

PRESSURE FOR REMOVAL OF ASHES TO INDIA

5. Our Ambassador's impression is that such pressure as there is, comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy. He is in poor health. At the memorial service on August 19, 1994, Mr. Hayshi had said that that would be the last memorial service "in keeping with Buddhist tradition and practice". While it is not clear that there is any rule for discontinuance of the memorial service after 50 years, the younger members appear to be quite willing to carry on the memorial service although they would all be happy to see Netaji's ashes repatriated to India with due honour and ceremony.

6. Ambassador's remarks on the "present arrangements" and "pressure for removal of ashes to India" were conveyed to the Home Secretary by Foreign Secretary in June, 1995.

63

VIEWS OF JAPANESE FOREIGN OFFICE

7. (a) The Japanese Foreign Office has asked us whether, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of Netaji's death and the forthcoming centenary of his birth (January 23, 1997), we propose to take the ashes back to India. This has been more in the nature of an inquiry than a suggestion. It is unlikely that the Foreign Office would do anything without consulting us and seeking our concurrence.

EAM'S talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Kono

(b) During EAM's visit to Japan, Foreign Minister Yoheio Kono referred to the visit of EAM to Renkoji temple on 8 September, 1995 and said that there were many Japanese who respected Netaji Bose. The background to the issue of Netaji's ashes was better understood when one notes that the people taking care of the ashes are getting old. But the issue remains unresolved. FMYK sought EAM's candid assessment. EAM replied that it was one of the issues which India is addressing. The centenary celebration of Netaji was falling next year. Some family members, specially one of Netaji's nephews, had raised strong objection to the taking of ashes to India. He belongs to a political party which does not believe that Netaji died on that particular occasion. The Government's earlier decision to award the Bharat Ratna to Netaji posthumously was challenged in the court on the ground that his death had not been clearly established. At the same time, however, there was an important section including INA veterans, which feels strongly that the ashes should be kept in a monument in India dedicated to Netaji. We are already talking to them. This month we are also continuing discussion with Netaji's relatives to resolve the issue. India is grateful to the Japanese Government and people for protecting the ashes for so long with reverence. FMYK said that many people in Japan have respect for Netaji and there was no inconvenience in keeping the ashes here. However, he personally felt that it would be better to return the ashes to his homeland and to his family. EAM said that India would give weight to the views of his daughter who was in favour of taking the ashes to India. In any case, the issue was expected to be resolved soon.

STAND OF THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE

8. In a note verbale dated October 27, 1995, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, informed us that as a result of investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

64

MEA'S SUGGESTIONS

9. MEA suggested that in view of the widespread sentiments Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. In doing so, the following preparatory action was envisaged:

i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes... public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes, or

ii) Alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions who would give a call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

MHA'S STAND

10. Based on the inputs received from MEA and IB, it was felt that if a decision is taken to bring the ashes back to India, creation of favourable public opinion will be a crucial step in the realisation of this objective. Some members of the Bose family, particularly Shri Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and individuals like Prof Samar Guha and members of the Forward Bloc, are not reconciled to the fact that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku. It would, therefore, be necessary to take members of Netaji's family into confidence in the first place by convincing them of the genuineness of the ashes. The question of an appropriate memorial involving the mortal remains shall also have to be addressed in due course.

PROPOSAL OF ASHIS C. RAY OF CNN

11. Ashis C. Ray of CNN, who is the grandson of Netaji's elder brother, visited Japan about a year ago and had met officials at the Foreign Office. On September 5, 1995, Shri Ray proposed to the Prime Minister, in a fax message, to direct conducting of a DNA test which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji Temple are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Block, and such like". He stated that a blood sample could be taken from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC Col. Habibur Rahman), to carry out the tests.

65

- 8 -

Mr. Ashish Ray claimed that he learnt in November, 1995 that Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi (The doctor who attended on Netaji Subhash Bose after the plane crash on August 18, 1945 at Taihoku) was alive and with the help of a Japanese colleague interviewed him. In a published article in the Statesman on 12.12.95, Mr. Ashish Ray stated categorically that Netaji Subhash Bose died after being involved in a plane crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945 and that Dr. Yoshimi confirmed to him having written the death certificate of Netaji Subhash Bose.

VIEWS OF NETAJI'S DAUGHTER

12. Ms. Anita Pfaff, Netaji's daughter from his German wife, had visited Delhi for discussions with other members of the family and been in touch with the Japanese Ambassador in Delhi in February 1995. She had also written to some associates of Netaji, including Hayashi. EAM met her in Germany in October 1995. During discussion with EAM, she expressed her willingness to go along with the proposal of bringing back the ashes to India but did not approve of the DNA test.

VIEWS OF OTHER IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF NETAJI'S FAMILY

13. While Dr. Sisir Bose supports the idea of bringing back the ashes, Late Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew had been the most vociferous skeptic of the air crash episode and had opposed any proposal of bringing back the ashes.

1022/FS/96/19/1

2925/NEO/96

MOST IMMEDIATE

18/5

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

SECRET

13

66

नई दिल्ली - 110 011

NEW DELHI - 110 011

Reference is invited to this office U.O. of the same number dated 19.12.1995 regarding a proposal for DNA analysis of Netaji's ashes.

It is requested that the comments sought in the matter may kindly be sent urgently.

Sujata Mehta
(Sujata Mehta)
Director

1. Home Secretary✓ 2. Foreign Secretary

PMO U.O. NO. 805/11/C/13/95-Pol Vol.II

dated: 18.1.1996

*Pl. obtain from
May.*

*for file
1015*

*N. S.
18/5 0125
18/5*

11/15 11/15 11/15
579/95

(12)

T-2019/NGO/95

(67)

18/9. ~~TOP SECRET~~

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Attached herewith is a copy of a letter dated 11th August 1995 to PM from Shri Ashis Ray regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's "ashes". Also attached is a background note on the subject.

2. PM would wish to discuss this matter with EAM and Minister for Human Resource Development who may kindly see.

Menon
[Prabhakar Menon]
Joint Secretary to PM
5.9.1995

(Separate copies)

✓ Hon'ble External Affairs Minister

Hon'ble Human Resource Development Minister

PMO ID Note No. G-16(3)/95-NGO

dtd. 5.9.1995

A date and time my PM to find

Ray
18/9/95

Pa. ✓ P.S.

Gen's office wants this. See

Am
11/10/95

✓ *OSD to Gen*
NGO

OPS

ASHIS C. RAY

68

F-162 Malcha Marg
New Delhi - 110021.

11 August, 1995.

TO:

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao
Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, leader of the opposition
Shri Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister of West Bengal
Shri S. R. Bommai, President of Janata Dal
Shri Chitta Basu, General Secretary of Forward Bloc

FROM:

Ashis Ray

SUBJECT: NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S "ASHES"

On 18 August next, it will be half a century since - from various accounts - Netaji met with a plane crash at Taihoku and died as a result of it. And his "mortal remains" were taken to Tokyo and kept at this city's Renko-ji temple, where they remain till date.

During the past 7-8 years, I have attempted with a completely open mind to seek an answer to the question: what happened to Netaji? I have done so because, as you know, he was my grand-uncle and I have been very close to his wife and daughter. I also felt that we owe it to the Indian people - who have been so generous in their adulation of him - that we give them a satisfactory explanation on the matter. Indeed, it is sad that neither Indian authorities nor my older relatives have taken the issue seriously enough.

The two investigations ordered by the Government of India, unfortunately failed to do a convincing job. Besides, Morarjee Desai, as Prime Minister of India in September 1978, virtually rejected their findings in a statement to this effect in the Lok Sabha.

As for members of the Bose family, people have either emotionally and without any basis refused to accept the plane crash story or have endorsed it without bothering to get to the bottom of the affair.

There are also some followers of Netaji who, either because of being unaware of new evidence/information or otherwise, refuse to believe that he died as a result of the air tragedy.

I do not wish to blame anyone for the situation we face. But to appeal to all to come together in a rational manner to find a way out of it. I am sure all of you will agree that if indeed the "ashes" at the Renko-ji temple belong to Netaji, they should be brought back to India with state honour and disposed off on a befitting way.

In course of my personal probe, I have visited the Public Record Office in London, the son of Colonel Habibur Rahman in Pakistan, met government officials in Germany and Japan and made enquiries in the Soviet Union/Russia. Based on these, I have reached the following conclusions:

69

that the Japanese government carried out an investigation into the plane crash in 1956 - a copy of this report, which confirmed that Netaji died as a result of it and that the "ashes" at the Kenko-ji temple were his, was handed over to the Indian government, but remains for no reason marked "TOP SECRET" till date and, according to Justice G. D. Khosla, was never presented before his Commission; A

b) that the Russian government conveyed to the Indian government in January 1992 that Netaji never visited the Soviet Union in 1945 or thereafter;

c) that there are some British government files pertaining to Netaji at the Public Record Office in London which have been sealed for extraordinary periods as opposed to being de-classified after 30 years, but can be revealed under certain conditions to either the Government of India or to a relative of Netaji; B

d) that Colonel Habibur Rahman never deviated from his claim that Netaji died as a result of the crash and, according to his son, Naeemur Rahman, died disappointed about the fact that some people in India disbelieved his account and questioned his motive;

e) that Colonel Habibur Rahman was of the view that the aircrash was as a result of sabotage by Chinese technicians aimed at officers of Japanese armed forces travelling on the flight in the still hostile war atmosphere; and

f) that he put a gold-plated tooth belonging to Netaji, given to him by Japanese officials, after the cremation, in the urn containing the "ashes".

I would, therefore, request that the steps listed below be kindly taken:

1. the Japanese government report be made public without any further delay;
2. the details of the Russian government note to the Indian government also be made public;
3. the British government be asked if it changed its mind on its initial view that Netaji did not die as a result of the crash; and
4. the urn be x-rayed and it be authenticated if there is a gold-plated tooth in it or not and then a search be made in Germany and South East Asia for Netaji's dental records - I say this because after 50 years of dilly dallying, we need to be scientific and not sentimental in our approach.

May I add that it should be abundantly clear to any reasonable person that even if - as was suggested by some in the 1940s and 1950s - Colonel Habibur Rahman put out the story of the crash under instructions to hoodwink people about Netaji's whereabouts, he would surely have raised questions about what happened to his leader by the time he died in 1978. In other words, if anyone thinks that Col. Rahman was under orders to mislead people, it is ridiculous that he would have continued to do so till his death. He had no motive, nothing to gain from misleading people till the end.

Furthermore, I would suggest that we obtain a full and final statement from the Japanese government on some of the grey areas of the air crash episode, including an explanation, if possible, on why the cremation certificate was not in Netaji's name.

It is not necessary to go into the expense and paraphernalia of another Commission. All it requires is common sense and a will to close the messy chapter once and for all.

Needless to mention, there are almost irrefutable indications that Netaji died consequent to the plane crash and that the "mortal remains" at the Renko-ji temple are his. But I do not intend to thrust these upon anybody. All I urge is that we try and reach a national consensus and pay due respect to a departed soul - arguably one of the outstanding sons of India.

And I should like to emphasise that in making the proposal I am I seek no publicity for myself. Only, if desired, I am prepared to work behind the scene to proceed in the matter.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Amir KJ

71

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

- 1) The Cabinet had accepted the conclusions of the two Inquiry Committees of 1956 and 1970 that Netaji died in the air-crash in August 1945;

In February 1991, the CCPA had approved that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or by bringing the ashes into India.

- 2) In September 1994 PM had directed MHA to bring a paper for Cabinet's consideration on Netaji's death and the possibility of bringing his ashes to India, keeping in view that Netaji's birth centenary would be in January 1997. The Cabinet considered a paper on this subject in February 1995, and deferred a decision. (A copy of the note for the Cabinet is attached.)

- 3) The MEA does not have any Japanese report on their investigation into Netaji's death;

- 4) In January 1992, the Russian Government confirmed to our Embassy in Moscow that "as per data available in the Central and Republic Archives there is no information about the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and after that".

- 5) MEA has no records of the British Government stand, as reported by Shri Ray, in the late 1940's that Netaji did not die in the plane crash;
- 6) As to the point about the urn containing the ashes, MEA had reported earlier that the urn has never been x-rayed. There are some discrepancies about the dates on which the ashes believed to be Netaji's were seen by Col Habibur Rahman, Netaji's ADC. His two separate dispositions refer to a small piece of gold being seen among the ashes;

(It may be mentioned that it has been decided to establish a National Committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary and the Department of Culture has been asked to formulate a proposal for this.)

Cabinet

No

COPY NO. 75

92--95 No.I/12014/27/93-IS.(D.III)
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

(73)

NOTE FOR THE CABINET

Subject:- Proposal to bring the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India.

The mortal remains of Netaji are now kept in the Bose Academy in Tokyo. The Bose Academy members are reportedly thinking of disbanding the Academy and having the last memorial service in 1995 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Netaji's death. Because of this and also since the birth centenary of Netaji is due in 1997, the issue of what action is to be taken regarding the mortal remains of Netaji has now acquired some urgency. There has been wide media coverage in Japan focusing on the concern expressed by the war veterans of the Academy over the Government of India's lack of interest in taking the ashes to India. If no decision is taken in 1995, India may be asked by the Bose Academy to take charge of the mortal remains of Netaji. It would not be possible for India to refuse to take possession of the mortal remains. Therefore, a decision is required to be taken well in advance as to what is to be done with these mortal remains.

Background

2. Netaji's death is an issue surcharged with emotion. The issue of whether he actually died in the plane crash of 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku has been questioned by some individuals and organisations.

3. In response to public demand, Government of India appointed an Inquiry Committee in April, 1956 to ascertain the circumstances concerning Netaji's death in an air crash. The Committee comprised S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan,

44/T/95
13.2.95

74

Suresh Chandra Bose (elder brother of Netaji) and S.N.Maitra, former Chief Commissioner of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on 18th August, 1945. Shri Suresh Chandra Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by Shri Suresh Chandra Bose's dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

4. The controversy over the disappearance of Netaji persisted. Rumours about Netaji's survival and subsequent disappearance kept cropping up. In response to a demand for fresh inquiry by a number of MPs belonging to different political parties, the Government of India appointed a one-man Commission of Inquiry in July, 1970. Justice G.D.Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was asked to "inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and make a report to the Central Government". The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Taiwan and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on 18th August, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the findings. The report of the Commission, alongwith the Memorandum of Action taken thereon was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on 3rd September, 1974.

5. Shri Samar Guha moved a motion in Lok Sabha on 3rd August, 1977 urging Government to set up a three-man Commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of the disappearance of Netaji. The discussion on the motion was inconclusive. It was, however, found that the point raised by Shri Guha in his speech in the House had been fully examined in the Home Ministry in the

context of the Khosla Commission's findings and no fresh grounds requiring further investigation by a new Commission had been advanced by him. The matter was, therefore, placed before the CCPA with the following proposals:-

"The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in the air crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or/by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February, 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

6. Since then, as mentioned earlier, the question of Netaji's mortal remains has assumed urgency. If no decision is taken by 1995, in which year the Bose Academy proposes to have the last memorial service, India may be asked by Renkoji temple to take charge of the urn containing the ashes whereby we may have no alternative but to store them in our Mission in Tokyo. It would look most inappropriate if we decline to take charge of the ashes.

Views of MEA and IB

7. The Ministry of Home Affairs has obtained the views of MEA and IB. IB's views are to the effect that it would not be advisable to take any initiative to bring back the ashes to India as there is no demand from any quarter for this. If the ashes are brought to India, the People of West Bengal are likely to construe it as an

imposition on them of the official version of Netaji's death.

76

8. MEA has suggested that in view of the wide-spread sentiments that Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. MEA suggested the following course of preparatory action:-

- (i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes from Japan--respected public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes; or
- (ii) alternatively, establishment of a Committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions, who would give the call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

Consideration of the Committee of Secretaries

9. In view of what has been mentioned in foregoing para 6, a decision will have to be taken soon. There seems to be no scope for doubt that he died in the air crash of 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. Government of India has already accepted this position. There is no evidence whatsoever to the contrary. If a few individuals/organisations have a different view, they seem to be guided more by sentimentality rather than by any rational consideration. The belief of these people that Netaji was alive and out of contact with any Indian, but would appear when found necessary, has also lost

relevance by now. In view of the aforesaid facts, Government of India will have to take a decision in principle. The strategy and the modalities could be worked out thereafter.

77

10. The matter relating to the ashes of Netaji alongwith other connected issues was, therefore, placed before the Committee of Secretaries. The directions of the Committee of Secretaries were sought on the following issue related to the ashes:-

The birth centenary of Netaji is proposed to be celebrated in a big way in India in 1997. The Bose Academy in Japan is insisting that the Government of India take possession of the mortal remains of Netaji. A decision has to be taken whether the ashes should be brought to India or stored in our Mission in Tokyo."

11. During the course of discussions, the Committee of Secretaries observed that:

- (a) The Bose Academy had not issued an ultimatum regarding the handing over of the ashes but merely made a representation on the grounds that its members were rapidly aging and may not be able to discharge their present duties; and
- (b) the Government of India was paying for the upkeep of the mortal remains in Renkoji Temple and the management could be persuaded to continue with this arrangement if the upkeep charges were increased.

12. In view of the foregoing, the Committee of Secretaries arrived at the following conclusions:-

"As regards the question of taking possession of

78

the ashes was concerned, no particular advantage lay in taking a decision on this at this juncture since the birth centenary was due only in 1997. Therefore, a view could be taken in the matter in 1996-97 and till such time status quo should be maintained. The temple management may be persuaded to continue with the upkeep of the ashes and, if necessary, the maintenance charges being paid to the temple may be suitably increased to meet the increased cost."

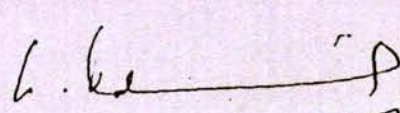
13. Conclusions of the Committee of Secretaries were placed before the Prime Minister for directions. The Prime Minister has desired that the Home Ministry bring a paper on the subject for the Cabinet's consideration. Accordingly, the matter is placed before the Cabinet for its consideration and directions on issues as examined at the foregoing paragraphs 9 to 12 and in particular on the following:-

- (i) Whether the management of Renkoji Temple in Japan be persuaded to continue with the present arrangement, if necessary, with enhanced upkeep charges or the Government of India should take possession of the ashes of late Subhash Chandra Bose, now.
- (ii) In the event of Government of India deciding to take possession of the mortal remains, whether these could be brought to India or preserved in the Indian Mission in Tokyo.

14. If a decision is taken to bring the ashes back to India, creation of a favourable public opinion will be a crucial step in the realisation of this objective. Some members of the Bose family, particularly Shri Amia Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and individuals like Prof. Samar Guha and members of the Forward Bloc are not reconciled to the fact that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku.

It would, therefore, be necessary to take the members of Netaji's family into confidence in the first place by convincing them as to the genuineness of the ashes. It should then be easier to handle opposition from other quarters like the Forward Bloc. Netaji's wife and the only daughter are at present living in Angsburg, Germany. It is felt that they can best be approached through another nephew of Netaji, Dr. Sisir Bose. Shri Amia Nath Bose, the most vociferous sceptic of the air crash story, needs to be brought around by approaching at an appropriately high level. There is good chance that if reasonably approached, the family members may drop their opposition. The question of an appropriate memorial involving the mortal remains shall also have to be addressed in due course.

15. This issues with the approval of the Home Minister.


(K. PADMANABHAIAH)
HOME SECRETARY

F.No.I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III)
Ministry of Home Affairs

- 2 FEB 1995

TOP SECRET

Ministry of Home Affairs
F.No.I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III)

STATEMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE

Subject: Proposal to bring the mortal remains of Netaji
Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India.

=====


Gist of decision required	Projected benefits/results	Time schedule or manner of implementations/reporting to Cabinet Secretariat
---------------------------	----------------------------	---

=====

Whether the mortal
remains of Netaji should
be taken possession of
and brought to India
or the status quo
should be maintained.

To forestall a crisis
in the birth
centenary year of Netaji.

To be decided as per directions
of the Cabinet.


(K.PADMANABHAIAH)
HOME SECRETARY

136/EAM/95
12/9/95

433/F-5/75
19/9

T-2020/NGO/95
18/9

81

TOP SECRET
MOST IMMEDIATE

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

In continuation of our note of even number dated 5-9-1995 regarding the "ashes" of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, forwarded herewith is a copy of another letter to PM from Shri Ashis Ray. EAM and Human Resource Development Minister may kindly see in the context of their discussion with PM on this subject.

Menon
(Prabhakar Menon)
Joint Secretary to PM
11-9-1995

(Separate copies)

- ✓ 1. **Hon'ble External Affairs Minister**
2. **Hon'ble Minister for Human Resource Development**

PMO ID Note No. G-16(3)/95-NGO

dttd. 12.9.95

Pr
18/9/95

✓ P.S.
- OSD to Gm

N/10 :- 1 :-

in UPS

ASHIS C. RAY

F-162 Malcha Marg
New Delhi - 110021.

5 September, 1995.

Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
7 Race Course Road
New Delhi.

Dear Prime Minister,

I realise you are receiving conflicting signals on the issue of Netaji's remains. And I do not wish to be a part of a pressure group one way or the other.

All I wish to submit is that my continuing research on the subject convinces me that the best way forward is to do a DNA test, which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji temple are Netaji's or not. I have spoken to an expert on the subject; and he has no doubt that irrevocable proof can be obtained.

May I propose that an international team of experts, one of whom can be from our DNA centre at Hyderabad, is entrusted with the job, with a set of observers drawn from the Bose family, Forward Bloc and such like.

You have doubtless noticed that last week a team of DNA experts established that remains regarding which there were doubts do indeed belong to Czar Nicholas. All we need is a blood sample from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC, Colonel Habibur Rahman) to carry out the test.

A direction from you on the matter can set the ball rolling.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Asin

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

(11)

3/1/96
3/1/96

नई दिल्ली - 110 011

NEW DELHI - 110 011

1485/FS/96

3/1/96

(83)

Reference is invited to this office U.O. of the same number dated 19.12.1995 and reminder dated 18.1.1996 regarding a proposal for DNA analysis of Netaji's ashes.

It is requested that the comments sought in the matter may kindly be sent at an early date.

Sujata Mehta
(Sujata Mehta)
Director

Foreign Secretary

PMO U.O. NO. 805/11/C/13/95-Pol Vol.II dated: 30.1.1996

May please
See n.c.
3/1/96

DIRECTOR (NU)

Re: Kake.
3/1/96

SO(NAG)

PL Spoken 1/2 (F/N)
3/1/96

SO(NAG) Spoken.
3/1/96

T/165/1/28/X/1

(10)

T- 2619/NGO/55
12/12

~~TOP SECRET~~

(84)

T/165/EAM/95
28/X/95

541/FS/95

14/12

THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER

I visited Augsburg, Germany, on 21st October 1995 to meet Netaji's widow - Mrs. Emily Shenkel Bose and his daughter Prof. Anita Pfaff. Anita's husband - Dr. Martin Pfaff as well as their children were present during the meeting. Our Ambassador in Bonn Shri S.K.Lambah was also present. During the course of our conversation, the following points emerged;

- a) I said it was time for forward movement on the issue of return of the ashes of Netaji from Japan to India. The Japanese government as well as associates of Netaji in Japan were keen that Netaji's ashes return to his motherland. I said that the Indian government was also keen to bring back the ashes at a suitable time provided controversial issues were resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned. Anita Pfaff said that the ashes could be brought to Germany from Japan if the issue of their return to India remained controversial. Ambassador Lambah stated that the Japanese had already reacted negatively to the proposal of transferring the ashes to a third country.

- b) I showed the list of persons to be included in the Official National Centenary Celebrations Committee to mark Netaji's birth anniversary.

NGO

Anita Pfaff made some suggestions which I have communicated separately to HRD Minister and MOS (PMO), Shri Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi. She accepted my invitation to be a member of the Committee.

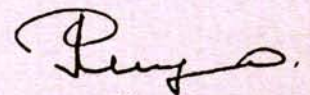
- c) Netaji's widow and his daughter raised the issue of a suitable memorial for Netaji as well as the question of what to do with Netaji's ashes once they had been brought back to India i.e. whether the ashes should be immersed in the Ganga or be kept at a place of reverence. I said that these issues could be sorted out by the National Committee.
- d) On the issue of alleged captivity of Netaji in Russia after 1945, I showed the members of Netaji's family an official communication from the Russian government stating that it has no record of Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union during or after 1945. Articles from the Russian Press pointing to the fact that Netaji was not in the Soviet Union in 1945 or thereafter, were also shown.
- e) The entire family expressed happiness over my visit. Anita Pfaff and her husband accepted my invitation to visit India. This is expected to take place late December, 95 or early January, 1996.



ASSESSMENT:

I feel that Netaji's widow and daughter are keen that an early solution be found to the issue of return of Netaji's ashes to India. They seemed convinced of the seriousness of purpose on the part of the Indian Government. Anita Pfaff made it clear that while she would like to consult other members of the family in India, the final decision would rest with her alone. She anticipated opposition from some members of the family. She would prefer that the family is not divided on this issue.

By initiating direct contact with Netaji's immediate family, we have achieved some forward movement on the issue of return of Netaji's ashes to India. However, there exists opposition from some sections of Netaji's family, which if articulated publicly, as surely it will be, may be used for partisan political ends. Therefore, we need to proceed cautiously to avoid endowing this issue with controversial overtones.



(Pranab Mukherjee)
External Affairs Minister
28 October 1995

PM



प्रधान मंत्री
PRIME MINISTER

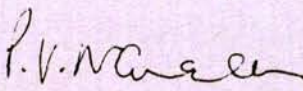
New Delhi
December 11, 1995

Dear Shri Roy,

I have received your letter of November 27, 1995
about Netaji's ashes.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,


(P.V. Narasimha Rao)


Shri Joyanta Roy, MP
28, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road
New Delhi

No. 805/11/C/13/95-Pol Vol.II

dated: 18.12.1995

Copy with a copy of letter under reference
forwarded for action as appropriate to :-

1. Home Secretary
2. Secretary, Department of Culture
- ✓ 3. Director (FSO), MEA


(Pankaj Saran)
Deputy Secretary

2(NGO)
15



27.11.19

To

The Prime Minister of India
South Block
New Delhi.

Sir,

I would like to draw your attention to the recent efforts to bring the controversial ashes from Japan's Renkoji Temple that have shown a queer proneness to reach sweeping conclusions without presenting incontrovertible data. Despite the processes already under way to bring the ashes from Japan an absence of official declaration of the Government of India to that effect is still a pointer to a state of uncertainty stemming out of unanswered questions of a very fundamental nature. Any endeavour disregarding this is tantamount to a disinformation campaign with tacit Governmental approval on the basis of a prior notion of Netaji's death in a plane crash on 18th August 1945. Facts abound in history to bear out the very opposite of it. The following are the grounds chiefly on the basis of which the doubts and confusion shrouding the professed purpose underlying the whole process have developed.

Amidst the present fanfair about the DNA test of alleged ashes of Netaji amazingly, the existence of an alleged tooth of Netaji is supposed to have clinched the whole issue. The reports submitted by CSDIC, CIC, Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission, however, never referred to it. It deludes one as to how it has not been found out when the official Netaji Enquiry Commission's Report even in support of the alleged plane crash story and the existence of Netaji's ashes, never found any mentioning of it in any of the evidence adduced.

2. Government of Japan's Report of 1956 claiming the existence of Netaji's ashes in the Renkoji temple was neither placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee of 1956 nor before the Khosla Commission on 1970. If any information relating to the said report was withheld by the Government to avoid political controversy, it is beyond one's comprehension as to why an Enquiry Commission was instituted to find out the truth and settle the issue once for all.

3. Why has the Government been suppressing the British intelligence report and the British Parliamentary debate on it expressing serious doubt about the story of Netaji's death in a plane crash on 18th August, 1945.

89

4 (a) A PRESS NOTE RELEASED BY THE ASIATIC SOCIETY ON THE MATERIALS COLLECTED FROM THE RUSSIAN ARCHIEVES :

Excerpts:

"What appears to be most interesting is that the scholars have traced materials hinting at Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's contact with the Soviet Leaders. Some documents relating to Netaji are in the KGB and President's archives which were not accessible to the scholars. Special permission is required to scrutinize them. It is believed that examination of these materials may eventually clear the mystery of Netaji's disappearance."

(b) According to newspaper reports, in a Press Conference convened by the Asiatic Society on 12th September, 1995, the scholars stated that they had found documents hinting at the existence of Netaji in Russia after August, 1945.

(c) Has the Government of India written anything to the Russian Government in response to the Asiatic Society's request for the scholar's permission for examining the K G B files and whatever is still there in the President's archives in this regard ?

(d) Government of India's request to the Russian authorities for a statement in this regard is based on malafide intention as it is, on the contrary, supposed to give permission to the scholars to go through materials contained in the K G B file.

5. When did the Government of India contact Habibur Rahman, if so, why did it do it secretly? One wonders why he was never brought before the Khosla Commission. When was the Tokyo Netaji Memorial formed ?

6. According to DPA report the Renkoji temple was destroyed in 1989. What did Mr. Pranab Mukherjee find in Japan in the name of the said Temple ?

7. Since when the INA members have been staying at the Renkoji Temple? Who are they ?

8. At the time of the occurrence of the alleged plane crash Mrs. Emilie Shenkle and Mrs. Anita Paf were nowhere near the alleged place of occurrence. Nor have they any first-hand information or any document corroborating the same in their possession.

9. People of India will have doubts about the neutrality of the DNA test Committee since the impartiality of CBI, countries like UK and USA and members of Netaji's family is hardly trustworthy due to their existing bias in this regard.

10. A Writ Petition challenging, in effect, the veracity of the plane crash story is pending before the Hon'ble Supreme Court. Any attempt at bringing the controversial ashes from Japan before the final verdict is given in the pending case assuming Netaji's death in the said plane crash as a settled fact therefore, is preposterous.

(a) The Government of India cannot decide the status of the controversial 'ashes' on the basis of documents that have neither ever been published nor were ever produced before the Netaji Enquiry Committee (1956) and Netaji Enquiry Commission (1970).

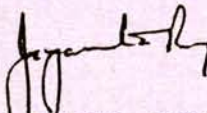
(b) The alleged reports that the Government is claiming to have in its possession, should be placed before a Commission headed by the Ex-Chief Justice of India and the petitioners of the pending case should be allowed to represent themselves before the Commission.

(c) The evidence, records and/or documents referred to by Jawaharlal Nehru, Morarji Desai and the present Government can in no way be regarded as conclusive unless they are considered by an Enquiry Commission on the basis of a proper investigative enquiry. The opinion of members of Netaji's family cannot be a decisive factor in this regard.

I hope that your response would be befitting the importance of this national issue as it needs deft handling and careful consideration of the de-facto repository of the highest authority of the land.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,


(JAYANTA ROY)

মস্কোর আলোয় নেতাজি

ইতিহাসের পটে সাম্প্রতিক

পবিত্রকুমার ঘোষ

সোভিয়েত কর্তৃপক্ষকে এই মর্মে অনুবোধ জানানো হয়েছে যে, কোনও ভারতীয়কে ওই আর্কাইভসে যেন ঢুকতে দেওয়া না হয়। রাশিয়ার ভারতের রাষ্ট্রদূতাবাস এই অভিযোগ যথারীতি অস্বীকার করেছে।

তবু ডঃ চন্দন রায়চৌধুরী সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে জানিয়েছেন, তিনি হাল ছাড়েননি। তিনি আমাদের বিশেষ মন্ত্রকের কাছে আবেদন করেছেন, কে জি বি এবং রুশ প্রেসিডেন্টের আর্কাইভসে এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটির গবেষকদের গবেষণা করার সুযোগের ব্যবস্থা করে দিতে।

এই আবেদন গ্রাহ্য হওয়া মূলে থাকুক, প্রধানমন্ত্রী নরসিমা বাও এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটির ওপর চটে গিয়েছেন। তাই গত সপ্তাহে কলকাতায় এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটির অনুষ্ঠানে যোগ দেবেন কথা দিচ্ছে তিনি যাননি। ওই অনুষ্ঠানে শিখাচার্য চিত্তামণি কর নির্মিত ইন্দিরা গান্ধী ব্রোড রিলিফ উন্মোচন করার কথা ছিল প্রধানমন্ত্রীর।

কলকাতায় তিনি যেদিন এই উপেক্ষা দেখাছিলেন সেদিনই দিল্লিতে বাকানো হয়েছে টপিরার ঘটনা। খোদা এ আই সি সি-র মুখপাত্র ভি এন গ্যাডগিল সাংবাদিকদের ডেকে বলেছেন, এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটির গবেষকরা মস্কো থেকে নেতাজির মৃত্যু সংক্রান্ত যেসব তথ্য সংগ্রহ করে এনেছেন সেগুলি খতিয়ে দেখে প্রয়োজন নতুন তদন্ত করতে হবে ভারত সরকারকে। কেন না সংগৃহীত তথ্যাবলী অনুযায়ী ১৯৪৫ সালে তাইহোকুর বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় নেতাজির মৃত্যু হয়নি।

ওই তথ্যকবিত বিমান দুর্ঘটনার পর পঞ্চাশ বছর পেরিয়ে গিয়েছে। এই অর্ধ শতাব্দী ভুড়ে একটানা বিতর্ক চললেও নেতাজির মৃত্যুসংবাদ কোনওদিনই প্রমাণিত হয়নি। সে সময় কোনও সরকারি কর্তৃপক্ষ ওই সবোদ প্রচারও করেনি। নেতাজির মৃত্যুবর্তী প্রথম পবিত্রেশন করেছিল জাপানি সর্বোদসংস্থা লোমোই নিউজ এজেন্সি। তাও ঘটনার পাঁচদিন পর।

ওই সবোদসংস্থা না রেখে প্রকৃতই কী ঘটেছিল তা জানার জন্য একই সঙ্গে তিনটি সরকারি পক্ষ আলাদা আলাদাভাবে গোয়েন্দা তদন্ত চালিয়েছিল। এই তিনটি পক্ষ হল এক, লর্ড ওয়াভেলের ভারত সরকার। দুই, লর্ড মাউন্টব্যাটেনের সাউথ ইস্ট এশিয়া আলায়েড কমান্ড। তিন, জেনারেল ম্যাক আর্থারের ইউ এস প্যাসিফিক অফিস। জাপানি মঞ্চ থেকে ফরমোসা (বর্তমানে তাইওয়ান) মৃত্যু হলে চীনের তখনকার চিয়াং কাইশেক সরকারের আদেশে তাইপের মেয়র অনুসন্ধান করেছিলেন, সত্যই ১৯৪৫ সালের ১৮ আগস্ট তাইহোকুর বিমান বন্দরে কোনও বিমান ভেঙে পড়েছিল কি না। সেমোই নিউজ এজেন্সি কর্তৃক প্রচারিত সবোদে বলা হয়েছিল, ওই তারিখে পুণ্ড্র পুটোয় বিমানটি ভেঙেছিল। তাতে আহত ও মৃত হয়ে নেতাজি মারা গিয়েছিলেন দশ ঘণ্টা পর, রাত বারোটা।

ওই মেট চার রকম তদন্তের কোনওটিরই রিপোর্ট আজ পর্যন্ত প্রকাশিত হয়নি। কিন্তু ওয়াভেলের স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব আর এফ মুর্ডি বিমান দুর্ঘটনার সাতষাট দিন পর প্রধানমন্ত্রী আটলির সরকারকে এক টপ সিঙ্গেট রিপোর্ট পাঠিয়ে তাঁদের তদন্তের ফল জানিয়েছিলেন। রিপোর্টটি ধীরে।

তাতে ভারত সরকারের তরফে মুর্ডি জানতে চেয়েছিলেন, বসুর প্রতি তাঁরা কোন আচরণ করেন? (ক) বসুকে ভারতে এনে দৃক করার অপরাধে বিচার করা হবে কিনা, (খ) রাজ্যের বিরুদ্ধে বার্মা ও মালয়ে থেকে বসু দৃক করেছেন বলে ওই মুর্ডি বেশের আদালতে তাঁকে সোপান করা হবে কিনা, (গ) ভারতের বাইরে সামরিক আদালতে তাঁকে বিচার করা হবে কিনা (ঘ) ভারতে তাঁকে প্রেস্তার করে রাখা হবে কিনা (ঙ) ভারতের বাইরে কোনও ব্রিটিশ অধিকৃত দ্বীপে বসুকে আটক রাখা হবে কিনা (চ) বসু যেখানে রয়েছেন সেখানেই

তাঁকে থাকতে দেওয়া হবে কিনা; তা যদি দেওয়া হয় তা হলে তাঁকে আত্মসমর্পণ করতে বলায় দরকার নেই।

বিমান দুর্ঘটনার সাতষাট দিন পর পাঠানো রিপোর্টে নেতাজির প্রতি কী আচরণ করা হবে সে নির্দেশ চাওয়ার অর্থ হল, তিনি জীবিত আছেন। এটাই ছিল ওয়াভেল সরকারের তদন্তের নিশাঙ্গ। ওয়াভেল নিজেই তাঁর ডায়েরিতে লিখেছিলেন "সূতাষচন্দ্র বসুর মৃত্যু সংবাদে আমার খুব সম্মেদ আছে, উনি স্বাধীনগোপন করতে চাইলে এরকম রটনাই স্বাভাবিক।"

নেতাজির মৃত্যু বিষয়ে জাপানি প্রচার সোনায়া ওয়াভেলের স্বরের সত্যতা সম্পর্কে সম্মেদ করেছিলেন। তদন্তের পর তাঁর সরকার নিশ্চিত হয়, নেতাজি সৃষ্টি মেহে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে গিয়েছেন। সোভিয়েত সরকার তখনও ব্রিটেনের মিত্রপক্ষ। তখনও তাঁরা দৃক খোলাখুলি শুরু করেনি। ব্রিটিশ লেবার পার্টির প্রধানমন্ত্রী আটলির গায়ে ছিল প্রগতিশীলতাও ছাপ। জালিন ওই প্রকাশ্য তির্যকতা যাননি। সেজন্যই ভারত সরকারের স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব মনে করেছিলেন, সূতাষচন্দ্র বসু তাঁদের নাগালের মধ্যেই রয়েছেন। তাঁকে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে থাকতে দেওয়াও চলে, আবার মস্কো সরকারের সহায়তায় তাঁকে প্রেস্তার করে নিতে আসাও যায়।

জালিনের মনোভাব ঠাইব কবা ওয়াভেল সরকারের পক্ষে সম্ভব ছিল না। কিন্তু তাদের রিপোর্টের বাকি অংশে ঠাট্টা কথাই ছিল। এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটির গবেষকদের সংগৃহীত তথ্যে সেই ইস্যুই মিলেছে।

ওয়াভেলের মতোই মাউন্টব্যাটেন এবং ম্যাক আর্থারও নেতাজির অস্তর্ধান রহস্যের তদন্ত করিয়েছিলেন। এই দুটি তদন্তের রিপোর্ট প্রকাশিত হয়নি। কিন্তু মাউন্টব্যাটেনের ডায়েরিতে তদন্তকারী ব্রিটিশ অফিসারের মন্তব্য উদ্ধৃত হয়েছে। তাতে ওই অফিসার বলেছেন: "গোটা ব্যাপারটিই সম্প্রেক্ষণক। বিমান দুর্ঘটনার কথা তাইহোকুরেই বানানো হয়েছে। সম্ভবত তারপর বসু অন্য কোথাও পালিয়ে গিয়েছেন।" ১৯৭৮ সালে লন্ডনে ভারতীয় হাইকমিশনার এন জি গোবের সুনির্দিষ্ট শব্দের জবাবে মাউন্টব্যাটেন বলেছিলেন, "সূতাষচন্দ্র বসুর মৃত্যু বিষয়ে কোনও সরকারি রেকর্ড আমার কাছে ছিল না।"

জেনারেল ম্যাক আর্থারের তদন্ত রিপোর্টও রয়েছে অপ্রকাশিত। কিন্তু 'টোকেও বিচার' চলাকালে ওই বিচার কমিশনের চেয়ারম্যান ডঃ বাথারিনো পালকে আমেরিকান বিচারপতি বলেছিলেন: ম্যাক আর্থারের তদন্তে জানা গিয়েছে, বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় সূতাষচন্দ্র বসু নিহত হননি—তিনি পালিয়েছেন। তাইপের মেয়রের তদন্তে জানা গিয়েছিল, বিমান দুর্ঘটনা আসপেই হয়নি।

এই চার রকম তদন্ত ছাড়াও জাপান সরকারও পৃথক একটি তদন্ত করেছিল বলে জাপিস রায় নামে এক ভ্রমলোক জানিয়েছেন। তিনি নাকি আট বছর ধরে গবেষণা চালিয়ে একথা জানতে পেরেছেন। কিন্তু কোনও জাপানি সরকার আজ পর্যন্ত নেতাজির অস্তর্ধান রহস্য নিয়ে মাথা ঘামানো সরকার মনে করেনি। কেন না দৃক শেষে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে নেতাজির পাড়ি দেওয়া সম্ভব হয়েছিল তৎকালীন জাপান সরকারের প্রত্যক্ষ সহযোগিতায়। এই অস্তর্ধানের প্রাণ ছকেছিলেন চারজন সামরিক নেতা—টোকেও সদর মন্ত্রীর জাপানি সেনাবাহিনীর প্রধান, সাধারণে দক্ষিণ-পূর্ব এশিয়ার জাপানি কমান্ডের ফিল্ড মার্শাল তেরাউচি, হিকারি কিকানো প্রধান জেনারেল ইসোজা এবং তেরাউচির সদর মন্ত্রীর বিশ্ব অফিসার কার্নেল টাডা। মাকুরিয়া সীমান্ত দিয়ে সোভিয়েত এলাকা সাইবেরিয়ায় নেতাজির বাওয়ার ব্যবস্থা এরাই করেছিলেন। মাকুরিয়া সীমান্ত পর্যন্ত একই বিমানে নেতাজির সঙ্গী ছিলেন জাপানি জেনারেল সিনেই।

নেতাজির অস্তর্ধানই বিংশ শতাব্দীর ইতিহাসের সের ব্যাসকুট। পঞ্চাশ বছরেও এ রহস্যের কিনারা হয়নি। তবে এটুকু নিশ্চিত, নেতাজি সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে গেলে জালিন তাঁকে বন্দী কিংবা খুন করেননি। ইস-মার্কিন দৃক তখন জালিনের শত্রুপরিষের পরিণত হচ্ছে। তাই নেতাজিকে মিত্র মনে করাই ছিল জালিনের পক্ষে স্বাভাবিক।

গতকাল সেবা দাসকুটির ওপর আলোর ঝলক এসে পড়লে মস্তা পড়ে। গবেষক দল রাশিয়া থেকে নেতাজির অস্তর্ধান বিষয়ে নতুন জিজ্ঞাসা নিয়ে। মস্তা পড়লে মস্তা পড়ে। ইতিহাস, বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় জীবিত মৃত্যু হারানি, অজ্ঞাত ছিল তাঁর জীবন। অটুট ছিল উপন্যাস।

নেতাজি সম্পর্কে নতুন করে অনুসন্ধান করেছেন এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটি একটি টিম। যানবপু বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের অধীনে সম্পর্ক বিজ্ঞানের অধ্যাপিকা ডঃ পূর্ববী রায়, ভারত বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞানের অধ্যাপক শোচন মণ্ডল এবং ইতিহাসের অধ্যাপক হরিবাসুদেবনকে নিয়ে এ হয়েছিল এই টিম। চলতি বছরের মে থেকে সেপ্টেম্বর পর্যন্ত ছিল বসিয়ার ট্রাফের গবেষণার কাল। এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটি এই গবেষণার বাবদ্য করেছে ভারত সরকারের মা, কল ভারত ট্রাফের আওতায়।

গবেষক দল রিপোর্ট জমা দিয়েছে তিন জায়গায়। মিকজাবে মস্কো নিযুক্ত ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত ডঃ রঞ্জন মল্লিকের কাছে, তারপর কলকাতায় এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটিতে ও দিল্লিতে ব্রিটিশ মন্ত্রক। বিশেষমন্ত্রী শ্রবণ মুখোপাধ্যায় ও উপ মন্ত্রক বসে ওই রিপোর্ট নিয়ে আলোচনা করেন। এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটির সাধারণ সম্পাদক ডঃ চন্দন রায়চৌধুরী এবং গবেষক দলের সদস্যরা ছাড়াও দিল্লিতে গম্বা ও ভিক্টোরিয়ায় রাষ্ট্রদূতের সঙ্গে এ বিষয়ে বারবার বিশেষ কথোপকথন হয়েছে বলে সোনা যায়। ঠিক করেই তিনি জরুরী কার্যে মস্কো গিয়েছিলেন।

গবেষক দলের সদস্যরা দিল্লিতে ও কলকাতায় সাংবাদিকদের কাছে বলেছেন, তারা মস্কোর আর্কাইভসে সব নথিপত্রের সন্ধান পেয়েছেন তা থেকে জানা যায়, দৃক শেষ হওয়ার দু'বছর আগে, ১৯৪৫ সালে টোকেওয় দৃক সোভিয়েত রাষ্ট্রদূত জ্যাকস মালিকের মাধ্যমে জালিন সরকারের সঙ্গে নেতাজি যোগাযোগ রাখছিলেন। তিনি সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে যেতে চেয়েছিলেন। সম্ভবত দৃকের খবর নেতাজি কয়েকদিন গোপনে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে টাইফিডেন। এই সময়ে তবিরে পরিকল্পনা নিয়ে সোভিয়েত সরকারের সঙ্গে তাঁর যোগাযোগ হয়েছিল।

কলকাতায় ১১ সেপ্টেম্বরের সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে ডঃ চন্দন রায়চৌধুরী বলেছেন, তাঁদের স্মৃতিত গবেষক দল মস্কোর কয়েকটি আর্কাইভ থেকে দু'হাজার পৃষ্ঠার নোট নিয়ে এসেছেন। এই আর্কাইভসগুলি হল, কমিশনার আর্কাইভস, সোভিয়েত কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির বৈজ্ঞানিক কমিটির আর্কাইভস, সেনাবাহিনীর ইতিহাসের সরকারি আর্কাইভস, লাল যৌক্তিক আর্কাইভস ও বর্তমান রুশ ফেডারেশনের বিশেষ মন্ত্রকের আর্কাইভস।

মস্কোর এতগুলি মহাভাণ্ডারানা বৈটে এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটির গবেষকদল যেসব মূল্যবান তথ্য-উপাদান নিয়ে এসেছেন তা থেকে বিশ্বদৃক শেষ হওয়ার পর নেতাজি সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নে ছিলেন বলে জানা যাবে। গবেষক দলের নেত্রী ডঃ পূর্ববী রায় উপরোক্ত সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে বলেছেন, ১৯৪৬ সালের সেপ্টেম্বরে তাইহোকুর বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় এক বছর এক মাস পরে সোভিয়েত এজেন্ট ডি জি মাদোয়াস ভারত থেকে মস্কোয় ফিরেছিলেন। তিনি সঙ্গে নিয়ে গিয়েছিলেন ১১ সেপ্টেম্বর তারিখে জওহরলাল নেহরুর লেখা একখানি চিঠি। তিনি মস্কোয় বাওয়ার পথে তেহেরানে সোভিয়েত কনসালকে বলেন, সূতাষচন্দ্র বসু ভারতে ফরওয়ার্ড ব্রকের নেতাদের সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ করতে চাইছেন। সে সময়ে ফরওয়ার্ড ব্রকের নেতৃবৃন্দের মধ্যে বহু বরণে নেতা ছিলেন। তাছাড়া ছিলেন পরচন্দ্র বসু।

ডঃ পূর্ববী রায় আরও জানিয়েছেন, সোভিয়েত গবেষক বিদ্যাসজ্ঞেত কে জি বি ও সোভিয়েত প্রেসিডেন্টের আর্কাইভস থেকে সংগৃহীত উপাদানের ভিত্তিতে বলেছেন, রাশিয়ার আর্কাইভসে সূতাষচন্দ্র বসুর অস্তর্ধান বিষয়ে এমন সব তথ্য রয়েছে যা প্রকৃত ঘটনার ওপর নতুন আলোকপাত করবে। কিন্তু মস্কোয় নিযুক্ত ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত এ বিষয়ে এগোতে বাধণ করেছেন তুবাৎজ্ঞেতকে। অধ্য জেনও ভারতীয় গবেষককে কে জি বি কিংবা প্রেসিডেন্টের আর্কাইভস দেখতে দেওয়া হবে না। তারও কারণ, মস্কোর ভারতীয় দূতাবাস থেকে

92

Published from Delhi and Patna

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

LXXI No. 294

Late City

New Delhi Sunday October 22 1995

44 Pages

Rs 1.50

Pranab's mission revives Netaji's death row

From Subhamoy Chatterjee

CALCUTTA, Oct. 21
External Affairs Minister Pranab
Mukherjee's reported unscheduled



Turn to page 4

airdash from New York to Germany yesterday to try and secure consent of Netaji's wife, Mrs Emily Shenkel Basu and daughter, Ms Anita Basu, on bringing "Netaji's ashes" from Japan has raked up the controversy over the great patriot's death in the Taihoku air crash.

The Forward Bloc, veteran followers of Netaji and some of his close relations have also called into question, the motive of the ruling party at the Centre in attempting this at a time when some recent findings claim to have pointed to Netaji's having been in Siberian Russia a year after the alleged crash.

A front page news item in the mass circulation *Ananda Bazar Patrika* today reported that Mr Mukherjee's Berlin mission, apparently undertaken with the knowledge of the Prime Minister,

was received with a sense of shock and suspicion by Netaji's ardent supporters. It was said in the story that Mr Mukherjee was trying to bring back the "ashes", kept in the Renkoji Temple near Tokyo for over four decades, to India so that the nation could pay a befitting homage to the great leader in his centenary year. The authorities in Japan, which the External Affairs Minister visited recently, had also expressed the wish that the "ashes" of the INA commander-in-chief be taken to his own country.

Commenting on this development, Forward Bloc's general secretary Chitta Basu, said that the party made its position clear after the Prime Minister had issued a statement in Singapore that the Government of India could not bring back the ashes due to the

Opposition of some political parties, indirectly implying Forward Bloc. Mr Basu said he had written to Mr Rao that the late Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, had told Parliament that the Government received some information subsequent to the findings of the Shah Nawaz Khan and Khosla Committees. On the basis of that it could be said that the air crash was not the conclusive proof of Netaji's death. This continued to be the Government's position.

"Unless he died in the air crash, how can you say that this was his ashes," the Forward Bloc leader asked. Mr Basu also said that he had a discussion with Mr Mukherjee at the personal level. The latter had said he would resume the dialogue which he never did.

Netaji's nephew, Mr Amiya Nath

Basu, said he had written to the Prime Minister stating that there was sufficient evidence of Netaji's being in Russia in 1946. He said that an American bomber crashed at Taihoku in 1944 and photographs of the wreckage "were attempted to be passed off as the damaged plane in which Subhas Chandra Bose was alleged to be travelling". He demanded that the Government of India ask the Government of Russia to allow examination of the KGB files and request the Governments of the UK and the USA to disclose their intelligence files about Netaji.

He alleged that a request had been made on behalf of the Government of India not to show any file regarding Netaji to Indian scholars visiting that country. The allusion was to the visit by a team from the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

C
G
(8
x
N
Z
N

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Vol LXXI No. 298

Late City

New Delhi Friday October 27 1995

32 Pages

Rs 3.

Netaji's ashes to be brought back, with honour

By M. K. Tikku

NEW DELHI, Oct. 26

Dr Anita Pfaff, daughter of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, has agreed to serve as a member of a National Memorial Committee to be constituted shortly with Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao as its chairman.



Turn to page 19

The Committee will take charge of all the activities connected with the birth centenary celebrations of Netaji which begin next January.

Last Sunday afternoon, External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee drove to Augsburg, about 60 kms from Munich in southern Germany, to meet Mrs Anita Pfaff, who teaches economics at the local university. Her husband, Dr Martin Pfaff, also an economics professor is a Social Democrat member of the German Parliament. Mr Mukherjee, who spent a whole evening at the Pfaffs home was accompanied by Indian ambassador S. K. Lamba and an aide of the Minister.

Mr Mukherjee informed her that during the centenary year, the Government proposed to bring back Netaji's ashes from Japan and have these installed at a suitable memorial with due ceremony and honour. This marks a noticeable shift in the Government's position which had earlier informed the Parliament that the ashes, which have been lying at the Renokoji temple in Japan,

would be brought to India only after "a national consensus" was evolved resolving the controversy surrounding the circumstances of his mysterious death or disappearance, half a century ago.

The shift in the Government's position and its apparent keenness to cap the controversy, as it were, seems to have been triggered by a recent report suggesting that three Calcutta-based scholars had in fact come across documents in the Russian archives indicating that Netaji had been staying in the Soviet Union sometime after his supposed death in the 1945 air crash.

The three scholars — Dr Hari Vasudevan, Dr Sobhan Lal Dutta Gupta and Dr Purabi Roy — who had visited Moscow on behalf of the Asiatic Society, had access to a member of archival documents, including some KGB files, in the Russian capital.

In the course of the Sunday evening meeting in Augsburg, Mr Mukherjee had shown some papers

to Mrs Pfaff that contained a response from the Russian Government to a query on the subject made by New Delhi earlier. In its reply, the Russian Government had stated that though the former Soviet regime had had some contacts with Netaji during the war, there had been none after the war was over.

Mr Mukherjee argued that this was conclusive proof that stories speaking of Netaji's life (and death) in the Soviet Union were without basis. He assured his host that his senior colleagues in the Government as well as himself had great admiration for Netaji and they would ensure that his birth centenary year was observed in a befitting manner.

Mr Mukherjee stressed that it would be in the fitness of things that she should attend the first meeting of the National Memorial Committee. Mrs Pfaff indicated that she could be free from her university duties only during the Christmas break, and so could come to India only towards the end of December.

It was agreed the inaugural meeting of the Committee would be convened around that time.

Though the Minister tied it up rather neatly at the Augsburg end during the weekend visit, some members of the Bose family in India do not even appear half as enthusiastic about the development. According to their understanding, the three Calcutta academics have a lot more up their sleeves based on the KGB documents they got to see in Moscow and the rather bland denial of the Russian Government of 1992 vintage does not clear the picture.

They suspect that after the cavalier treatment meted out to Netaji all these years, the ruling party's new-found admiration for him may just be used to extract political mileage during an election year. They strongly feel that the least that could be done is to ask the Russian Government for a fresh response in the light of the three scholars' findings.

The Statesman

DELHI, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1995

(Including The Saturday Statesman)

Govt to authenticate Netaji's 'ashes' by DNA test

SUBRATA SEN
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

DELHI, Oct. 27. — The Government has decided to go for DNA testing of Netaji's "ashes" kept in Tokyo before making a decision to bring it back to India with full honours during Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's birth centenary next year. The controversy that shrouds Netaji's death has necessitated the Union Government to first go for a scientific test to prove that the ashes kept in the Renkoji temple in Tokyo are those of Netaji. The Government has agreed to cooperate with India in this respect and has informed that a tooth of Netaji is preserved with the ashes, which can be used for the DNA tests.

According to sources in the Ministry of External Affairs, the Government has decided to bring the ashes kept in the Renkoji temple of Netaji, a

prising members from the CBI. DNA testing laboratory of Hyderabad, the Government of Japan and DNA experts from the USA and U.K. Members of Netaji's family will also be included in the committee to avoid any further controversy on the subject. Two renowned DNA experts — Dr Michelle Holland of the USA and Dr Kevin Salevan of the U.K. — had already been consulted and both of them have said that it would be possible to verify the authenticity of the ashes from the tooth.

Incidentally, the remains of Czar Nicholas II, who died in 1917, was verified recently from the remains of bones with DNA samples matched with the Duke of Edinburgh, who is a direct descendant from the mother's side. The Ministry of External Affairs, going by the DNA test of the last Czar, has asked one nephew of Netaji from the mother's side to cooperate in the

DNA testing.

Meanwhile, sources said, the Ministry of External Affairs was trying to collect all information regarding the controversial death theory in a plane crash, which was never believed by a section of Indian population. The authenticity of the ashes has been doubted by many historians too.

According to Ministry sources, the Japan Government, way back in 1956, gave it in writing to the Government of India that the ashes were genuinely those of Netaji's, but India did not react to the confidential report to avoid any political controversy.

The controversy regarding Netaji's "death" mainly arose because the British Intelligence always doubted the "death theory" and even said that Netaji might be hiding somewhere in the erstwhile USSR. Several British Parliamentarians, quoting intelligence reports, have



made statements in Parliament on the subject, thereby creating doubts about his "death".

However, with the Moscow archives being opened after the fall of Communism, some more information has come to light. A team from the Asiatic Society, after having studied the Archive records, has come to the conclusion that Netaji never visited the

country after 1945. The Union Government is likely to request the Russian Government to issue a statement in this respect.

To confirm the "death theory", the Ministry of External Affairs has also obtained a statement from Mr Habibur Rahman, who was aide-de-camp of Netaji in INA, and believed to have accompanied Netaji in the aircraft. Officials have traced Mr Rahman in Pakistan, and obtained his version of the "accident".

According to Mr Rahman, there was a plane crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945, as a result of which Netaji died. The small aircraft was coming from Saigon (now in Vietnam) to Taihoku to refuel and one of the engines caught fire. While Mr Rahman had a miraculous escape after the crash, Netaji's khaki cotton military dress caught fire while he was trying to escape through the emergency exit. "Netaji came out like

a ball of fire from the aircraft according to Mr Rahman. Netaji was taken to the Army Field Hospital at Taihoku, where he died.

Mr Rahman has also informed that he had the spectacles and one tooth of Netaji, which he deposited at the Tokyo Netaji memorial.

According to the External Affairs Minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, the Government would not like to bring back the ashes without being sure of its authenticity. Meanwhile, he has visited Renkoji temple in Tokyo on September 8 with the Foreign Secretary, Mr Salman Haider, and met several INA members who live in the temple. Mr Mukherjee, during his recent trip to the U.N., also went to Germany to talk to Netaji's wife, Emilie Bose and his daughter, Anita, who have supported the idea of bringing the ashes to India.

25

BENNETT, COLEMAN & CO., LTD.

29 OCTOBER
CA
16
To
Delive
for October

THE ECONOMIC TIMES

on Sunday

DNA test may put to rest doubts about Netaji's death

Our Correspondent
NEW DELHI 29 OCTOBER

AFTER FIFTY years of uncertainty, DNA analysis may be able to put to rest doubts on whether the ashes kept in an urn in the Renko-ji temple in Japan are indeed the remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Netaji is believed to have been killed in a plane crash in Taihoku in Taiwan, on August 18, 1945. His aide-de-camp Col Habibur Rehman, is said to have taken the ashes to Tokyo and the urn has been at the temple ever since. However, some have always questioned whether Netaji died in the crash at all.

Ashtis Ray, Netaji's great nephew, said: "The whole situation had become entangled in emotions. Now, my proposal to the government is that an international panel of DNA experts be set up to give us a report on all controversies."

He approached three foreign ex-

Mr Ray said last night he was awaiting a go-ahead from the Prime Minister. Now, it appears the Union government has agreed. Mr Ray is all praises for the government. "For the first time in 50 years, a Prime Minister is serious about the matter." Union external affairs minister Pranab Mukherjee, he said, has been entrusted with the task of working out details about the return of the ashes.

Mr Ray said Mr Mukherjee, who was in Germany, discussed the matter with Netaji's wife and daughter last Saturday. "They support the return of the ashes."

Mr Ray said a lucky break promp-

ted him to take the initiative. "I was able to pick up the threads when Col Rehman's son, living in Islamabad, told me his father had said that a tooth was given to him after Netaji's cremation. The gold plated tooth was apparently extracted by Japanese doctors, perhaps after the death."

Col Rehman was, in fact, given three items after the cremation — Netaji's spectacles, watch and the tooth. The colonel apparently simply put the tooth into the urn which was taken to Tokyo. "No one had ever come across this information before... it turned out to be a crucial element in what we are trying to do." This was about three years ago, said Mr Ray.

"We were wondering how we could proceed. Last year, it occurred to me that DNA testing could be a way out." A trip to Japan last year only strengthened this impression. "Not a sentimental statement but a

scientific approach... could pave the way for a return of the remains to India," Mr Ray said.

He approached the DNA experts and got a response from them last month. Dr K Sullivan of the UK-based Forensic Science Service confirmed that a blood sample from a nephew or niece from Netaji's sister's side would be a suitable control for DNA analysis. "The tooth, rather than the cremated bone fragments, is more likely to yield material of sufficient quality for DNA analysis," Mr Ray said.

In a letter dated September 22, Dr Sullivan said the test most likely to work is mitochondrial DNA analysis. "Mitochondrial DNA is inherited only from the mother, hence individuals who are linked by an unbroken maternal line are expected to have identical mitochondrial DNA. We estimate that the total cost of analysing the tooth and two control blood sam-

ples would be between £5,000 and £10,000, with the work taking approximately four months to perform."

Mr Ray said the American expert, Dr Mitchel Holland, and a Japanese expert have given the same response.

Netaji "disappeared" on August 18, 1945. His plane was said to have crashed that day, catching fire, and Netaji suffered third-degree burns and was rushed to a Japanese armed forces field hospital. There are two main accounts of this, one from Col Rehman and the second from the doctor, Yoshimi, who attended to Netaji. Some time between 9 pm and 11 pm that night, Netaji is said to have died. He was cremated in Taihoku and Col Rehman took the ashes to Tokyo.

But an aura of mystery surrounded Netaji's death because of the confusion in the post-World War II times and, said Mr Ray, the British believed that Netaji had made good his escape

Brought to you by:

TIMES
TELEVISION

In association with:

WB
WARNER BROS.

Co-sponsored by: **GLIDERS**
FROM LIBERTY



THE TIMES OF INDIA

A Thought for Today

We must indeed all hang together, or most assuredly, we shall all hang separately.

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Exhuming Netaji

It was reassuring to hear from the external affairs minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, that the government will not move to bring to India the ashes in the Rinkoji temple in Tokyo, believed to be Netaji's, without a national consensus on the subject. Admittedly, the process of reaching a consensus cannot be easy. Several theories regarding Netaji's disappearance have been in circulation and sentiments on the subject are strong. Both the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee (1956) and the Khosla Commission (1970) had concluded that Netaji had died in the Taihoku air crash in August 1945. However, in 1978, the then Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, told Parliament that contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses and documents subsequently available had cast "reasonable doubts" on the findings. Netaji's nephew, Mr Suresh Chandra Bose, never accepted the air crash theory. The Forward Bloc, the party founded by Netaji, still contends that he had gone to Manchuria after Japan's surrender to seek Soviet help and disappeared thereafter. Doubts have been reinforced by reports that a three-member team of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, during a recent visit to Moscow, discovered "new facts" on Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union after World War II. According to material available to the team, as late as September 1946 Netaji was trying to contact Forward Bloc leaders from abroad.

The information available so far is scrappy but happily for Netaji-watchers, archival material in Moscow has been thrown open to research scholars. From all indications, there is much that is available there which could be useful. The Union government, for its part, should take up the matter with Moscow and send an official team to go into all available records to remove doubts as far as practicable. Despite the setting up of two inquiry commissions, an impression has lingered in the public mind that not enough has been done to find the truth regarding Netaji's disappearance. This, in turn, has spawned wild theories over the decades about those in power in Delhi being allergic to Netaji. An ill-advised move to confer the Bharat Ratna posthumously on Netaji further served to whet such feelings, as it was seen as an affront rather than as an honour. It is not necessary to rush in the ashes from Rinkoji simply because Netaji's birth centenary is due next year. It would be more relevant to delve into facts and try and ameliorate public misgivings about the issue. The government should follow up the clues available from Moscow and place them before former INA officials, historians and scholars for proper evaluation. People must be convinced that sincere efforts are being made to ascertain the truth, if the centenary celebrations are to be made truly meaningful.

Telly Tricks

"The very technology which makes our lives more simple, makes our society more complex", observed the management guru, Thomas Griffith, adding "the more efficient we become, we are more specialised — and more dependent". Television technology, for instance, has brought vividly into our homes and hearths games like football, cricket, tennis, golf and auto-racing. The implosion of semiotic thrills is now only a push-button or

Mov

THE groundwork place a multil: Services (GATS)

The fact that the the initial scope of FDI though cover investment is also medium term. Apa favoured nation tion) rule, efforts a on three aspects generally free acce and investment; s treatment for inve investment and th ing measures to upl commitments mad, vestors.

The EC recognise

HE was a little : new bicycle an ing. "Ma, don't let him a little distance seat. There was a sta face when he fell an letting go. Son, tha: you'll learn anything, starting all over aga knees and tears i brought the cycle I day I told him that to push. "Just a litt pleaded. He rode I weaving his way u go too far," I v minutes he was b. he'd gone into a c fault Ma," he v Kinetic was comin from the opposite when I tried to avoi the ditch" Son, the feel ashamed of camouflage your f tales.

His confidence gre degrees One day he long I'd taken to li

Temporary S

THE slain Islam Fathi Shakaki, man with many, number of those suc

Ardhendu S Bose

Res : The Clifflet

33, Pochkhanwalla Road,
Bombay-400 025-India
Telephone : 493 16 91

(97)

Off : 714, Raheja Centre,
7th Floor, Block No. 214,
Nariman Point.
Bombay-400 021
Phone : 284 29 68
Fax No. 2873843-ATTN BOSE INTL

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
7, Race Course Road
NEW DELHI

December 11, 1995

Registered A/D

Dear Shri Rao,

Sub: Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

I am a nephew of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. My late father, Shri Sailesh Chandra Bose was Netaji's younger brother.

I have been following in the newspapers the controversy regarding the ashes lying in an urn at the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo, and the efforts being made by various factions to bring back these ashes to India as those of Netaji Subhas Bose.

I have also been following the news appearing in the media about suggestions being made by a distant nephew of mine, Mr. Ashish Ray (of CNN), that a Mitochondrial DNA Analysis be done on the ashes which will supposedly confirm or otherwise, that the remains are those of Netaji. Mr. Ashish Ray has written to me to ask for my urgent support, as a close family member, to his proposal. I have made enquiries through my own sources regarding the DNA tests and have been informed that at present there are no DNA tests possible on "ashes". Only if some bones are left in the urn, then there is a vague possibility of doing a DNA test. I have also been told that the high temperatures prevailing at the cremation of a body damages the bone structures so badly that even if some pieces were intact, they would not be of much use. Hence, in my own humble way I do not endorse this course of action.

I understand from news reports that my mother, Mrs. Bhakti Bindu Bose who is in Calcutta at the moment, together with another aunt of mine and a few cousins, have written to you to say that the Government should now examine the various archives in Russia, the U.K., the U.S.A., etc., which have now been made public and thereby come to a conclusion on what exactly happened to Netaji upon his disappearance in August 1945. I feel this would be the best course of action to

Ardhendu S Bose

Res : The Clifflet
33, Pochkhanwalla Road,
Bombay-400 026-India
Telephone : 493 16 91

98

Off : 714, Raheja Centre,
7th Floor, Block No. 214,
Nariman Point,
Bombay-400 021
Phone : 284 29 68
Fax No. 2873843-ATTN BOSE INTL

- 2 -

conclude a mystery which has left a huge question mark in the minds of a vast majority of people in this country, and all these people have a right to know what exactly happened to a great patriot of India. Pending such investigation and its conclusion thereof, it would be unfair to these people to bring back the urn from Tokyo with great pomp and fanfare as I believe is being planned.

The above is my considered opinion.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Ardhendu Bose

(Ardhendu S. Bose)

(99)

Prof Samar Guha
Former
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
Chairman
Privilege Committee
(Lok Sabha)



8/2, CENTRAL PARK
CALCUTTA-700 032

Phone : 72-1600

12 December 1995

SPEED POST

Respected Prime Minister,

Your wise decision to drop discussion of the Agenda on DNA test of the ashes in the Renkoji temple has been widely appreciated by the people. Otherwise, the serenity of Netaji's Birth Centenary would have been marred. Pronab Babu has also been saved from public anger.

However, I hope you will consider it as our sacred task to finally settle the question of disappearance of Netaji without any further delay.

For this the following steps should be taken :

i) Please write to the Govt. of Russia to permit the Asiatic Society Research Team to go through the documents in the KGB, Comintern President of Soviet Russia and other files preserved in their archives. Without the written request from the Govt. of India, the Asiatic Society research team is not being permitted to investigate papers kept into their archives.

Asiatic Society research team has already got positive indication of existence of some vital documents in their archives about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Soviet Russia after fall of Japan on Aug 15, 1945. An article written by a Russian researcher - Vinogradov written in 1992 in the Moscovs paper 'Echo Planety' has already been found which clearly stated that Subhas Chandra Bose was kept in detention in the Russian city of OMSK after fall of Japan.

People of India expect you should take personal initiative in writing to the Govt. of Russia to permit the team of the Asiatic Society to conduct their research work on Netaji.

ii) The Govt. of U.K., U.S.A. and Taiwan should be requested to publish the reports of their inquiries made to ascertain if Subhas Chandra Bose really died on Aug 18, 1945 in a plane crash at Taihoku (Taipei) or he managed to escape again under the cover of a cooked-up plane crash news. Four separate inquiries were made by the war-time Global Counter Intelligence Agency (CSDIC) of U.K, Lord Mountbatten as the Admiral of the S.E. Asian Allied forces, Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army and the Mayor of Taipei, under the Govt. of Chiang Kai

Prof Samar Guha
Former
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
Chairman
Privilege Committee
(Lok Sabha)



8/2, CENTRAL PARK
CALCUTTA-700 032
Phone : 72-1600

100

-2-

Shekh Taiwan Govt. agreed to submit the report of their inquiry to the Khosla Commission. But Justice Khosla refused to accept it.

iii) According to a 'Secret File No. F23(156)/51-PM' - a personal file on Netaji was maintained by Pandit Nehru. After his death this file was maintained by Md. Yunus. Khosla Commission was informed that nearly 40 papers (report) of this File have been 'Either Destroyed or Missing'. This file should be searched and 'Missing and Destroyed' papers should be traced to find out the contents of these missing papers.

If you consider it desirable, I can meet you to explain in details about the issues relating to 'disappearance of Netaji'.

I know you will have to face some political constraints in finding out all about Netaji's disappearance. But if you dare it, our history will hail you as the seeker of truth about what really happened to Netaji, the Maha Kshatriya of the struggle for emancipation of our motherland.

With regards and namaskar.

Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
South Bloc
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

(SAMAR GUHA)

UNIONITY

FAITH

SACRIFICE

I. N. A. ASSOCIATION

West Bengal

~~17/3/5, CHOWRINGHEE ROAD, CALCUTTA-700 013, PHONE: 23-1932~~

(Regd. No. S/5217 of 1962-63)

49/10 BALLYGUNGE PLACE, CALCUTTA-700 019

Ref. No. _____

Date _____ 19

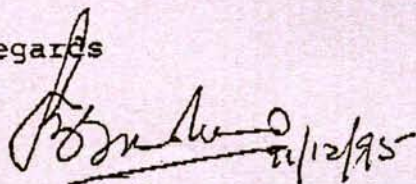
11.12.1995

Prime Minister of India
NEW DELHI

Respected Sir,

We the members of the I.N.A Association, West Bengal are deeply concerned at the attempt to bring the so called ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose by the Government of India and which is supported by some senior I.N.A. Officers. According to our scrutinising inquiry we found that the ashes kept in the Renkozi Temple was that of a Japanese, Ichiro Okura who according to the Taihoku Municipal Report died of heart attack on 19th August 1945 and cremated on 22nd August 1945. Domei News Agency reported on 23rd August 1945. If any attempt is made to bring the ashes from Japan will amount to act of worst sacrilege and will vitiate the sacred purpose of celebrating Birth Centenary of Netaji. We urge our Government to request the Government of Russia to allow the Asiatic Society team of Calcutta to conduct the research work on the files of the K.G.B. and Cominterns pertaining Netaji's disappearance. We also urge our Government to appoint a Commission of research scholars and learned people to find the truth of Netaji's disappearance and place the truth before the people. Letter follows.

Regards



Cap. B.K. Sarma
Chairman, I.N.A. Association
Calcutta.

NOTE for the
Cabinet

final version
~~one copy~~

Copy No. 2

1st copy given
to FS

(T-2632/N60

Dt. 16.12.95

Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

TOP SECRET

Note for the Cabinet

ect : Proposal to bring back the mortal remains of
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan to
India.

The mortal remains of Netaji are now kept in the Bose Academy in Tokyo. In view of the widespread sentiments that Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the proposal to bring back the ashes with due respect and honour, needs to be pursued and a decision is required to be taken well in advance as to what is to be done with these mortal remains.

BACKGROUND NOTE ON VARIOUS REPORTS AND OPPOSITION TO
CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

1. Netaji's death is an issue surcharged with emotions. The issue of whether he actually died in the plane crash of August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, has been questioned by some individuals and organizations.

(a) Shah Nawaz Committee Report: In response to a public demand, the Government of India appointed a 3-member committee on April 5, 1956, "to inquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith". The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. While S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, signed the report, Shri Suresh Chander Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by this dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

(b) Khosla Commission of Inquiry: In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains, and there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on July 11, 1970, one-man Commission of Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as sole member. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand,

Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Taiwan and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission, were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the findings. The report of the Commission, along with the memorandum of action taken thereon, was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on September 3, 1974.

- c) Extract of a letter dated 19th June, 1966 written by Shah Nawaz Khan, M.P to the then Foreign Secretary Shri S. Dutt about Col. Figgess's report

During the course of his evidence before the Shah Nawaz Committee in Tokyo, one Col. J.G. Figgess is reported to have stated in September 1945 that he had received orders in September 1945 from either the Headquarters of Supreme Allied Commander S.E. Asia Command, Kandy or the Director of Military Intelligence India, asking him to carry out enquiries in Tokyo and Formosa to ascertain the truth about the story of the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. These enquiries were carried out by him and Col. Figgess was positive that a copy of this report would be available with the British Government. He has also sent a copy of his report to the then Government of India (either the Director of Military Intelligence, GHQ India or the Director of Intelligence Branch, New Delhi).

High Commissioner's reference dated 27th February, 1978 to Lord Mountbatten after the publication of the classified document called "The Transfer of Powers 1942-47". Lord Mountbatten stated the following "My archives have been searched and there is no official record of his death and I know that this doubt was shared by Wavell himself but in a book, "The End of the War in Asia" by Louis Allen, who served as a Japanese language officer in India and Burma during and at the end of the war, he described in detail the air crash on the 18th August 1945 in which Chandra Bose died.

In this book he also states that in 1956 a mission was sent to Japan to enquire into the crash and although Suresh Bose still stuck to the belief that his brother was alive in the Soviet Union, other members of the mission were convinced by the evidence of the 67 witnesses who were called, that he had died in the crash. The fact that he has never surfaced any where to my knowledge makes it appear more than ever clear he was in fact killed in the crash.

104

The letter you quote from Vol.VI of "The Transfer of Power" is dated the 23rd August but it is reply to a letter written on the 11th August by Sir Evan Jenkins, that is, seven days before Chandra Bose's death.

H.V. Hodson, author of "The Great Divide", appears to accept without question the death of Chandra Bose, and he had access to the papers in my archives when preparing to write his book.

d) Shri Samar Guha moved a Motion in Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977, urging the Government to set up a 3-man commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of the disappearance of Netaji. The motion was discussed at length in 1977 and also in 1978. On the 28th August, 1978 the Prime Minister intervening in the debate observed:

"There have been two enquiries into the report of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the air-crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku airfield during his air-journey to Manchuria, one by a Committee presided over by Maj.General Shah Nawaz Khan and the second by a one-man Commission of Inquiry headed by Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. The majority report of the first Committee and Shri Khosla held the report of the death as true. Since then, reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness of the conclusions reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive. At the same time Government feels that no useful purpose would be served by having any further inquiry. I hope that in the light of this statement my Hon. friend will withdraw his motion".

Thereafter Prof. Guha withdrew his motion. While doing so he declared in the House:

"Today, I cannot express my gratitude to the Prime Minister because today ends a crusade that in my humble way I was trying to conduct on behalf of the people of India at least to see that officially and legally Netaji is not declared dead".

The question of authenticity of the ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple in Japan as those of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose remained inconclusive. As indicated by the then Prime Minister in the House the Government did not contemplate any fresh enquiry into the matter. It was, however, found that the point raised by Shri Guha in the speech in the House had been fully examined in the Home Ministry in the context of the Khosla Commission findings and no fresh grounds requiring further investigations by a new commission had been advanced by him. The matter was, therefore, placed before the CCPA with the following proposal:

"The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in the air crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or/bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February, 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

(d) Report of the Japanese Foreign Office: In a note verbale issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of India in Japan, dated January 31, 1956, the Foreign Office forwarded a report prepared by their Ministry on the cause of death and other matters related to late Subhash Chandra Bose. The investigation report incorporated the fact that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died on August 18, 1945 at 7 PM. The report, inter alia, included sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, along with rough sketch map of the airport, aircraft, and the Taipei Army Hospital. This report was taken into account by both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Inquiry.

UNION CABINET DECISION OF FEBRUARY 8, 1995

2. The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects.

106

PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS

3. The ashes are currently kept in an urn on the right side of the main altar in the Renkoji Temple in the outskirts (but within the city) of Tokyo. Like all shrines in Japan, there is no security except what is ensured by the reverence and respect shown by the Japanese towards religious places. The shrine is not exclusively devoted to the ashes of Netaji, and is visited by worshippers who do not necessarily go there to pay respect to the ashes. Strengthening of security is not likely to be received kindly, as this is a place of worship open to all. Furthermore, any suggestion from us could well revive the occasional suggestions from the Japanese that we should take the ashes to India.

4. The shrine is looked after by Rev. Yasufumi Mochizuki, whose father was the priest of the shrine earlier and had personally brought the ashes from Taipei about 50 years ago. Amongst the list of members of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy, he is the youngest and is 55 years old. Rev. Mochizuki appears to be quite happy to carry on the work of looking after the ashes and has told our Embassy that he has no intention of doing anything without the full consultation and approval of Japanese and Indian Governments. We donate Yen 600,000 annually, for the upkeep. It was felt that the contribution could perhaps be increased to Yen 1 million. As per PM's directive dated 30th November, 1995, MEA is processing the proposal to increase Government of India's annual contribution to the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo from Yen 600,000/- to Yen One million.

PRESSURE FOR REMOVAL OF ASHES TO INDIA

5. Our Ambassador's impression is that such pressure as there is, comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy. He is in poor health. At the memorial service on August 19, 1994, Mr. Hayashi had said that that would be the last memorial service "in keeping with Buddhist tradition and practice". While it is not clear that there is any rule for discontinuance of the memorial service after 50 years, the younger members appear to be quite willing to carry on the memorial service although they would all be happy to see Netaji's ashes repatriated to India with due honour and ceremony.

6. Ambassador's remarks on the "present arrangements" and "pressure for removal of ashes to India" were conveyed to the Home Secretary by Foreign Secretary in June, 1995.

107

VIEWS OF JAPANESE FOREIGN OFFICE

7. (a) The Japanese Foreign Office has asked us whether, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of Netaji's death and the forthcoming centenary of his birth (January 23, 1997), we propose to take the ashes back to India. This has been more in the nature of an inquiry than a suggestion. It is unlikely that the Foreign Office would do anything without consulting us and seeking our concurrence.

EAM'S talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Kono

(b) During EAM's visit to Japan, Foreign Minister Yoheio Kono referred to the visit of EAM to Renkoji temple on 8 September, 1995 and said that there were many Japanese who respected Netaji Bose. The background to the issue of Netaji's ashes was better understood when one notes that the people taking care of the ashes are getting old. But the issue remains unresolved. FMYK sought EAM's candid assessment. EAM replied that it was one of the issues which India is addressing. The centenary celebration of Netaji was falling next year. Some family members, specially one of Netaji's nephews, had raised strong objection to the taking of ashes to India. He belongs to a political party which does not believe that Netaji died on that particular occasion. The Government's earlier decision to award the Bharat Ratna to Netaji posthumously was challenged in the court on the ground that his death had not been clearly established. At the same time, however, there was an important section including INA veterans, which feels strongly that the ashes should be kept in a monument in India dedicated to Netaji. We are already talking to them. This month we are also continuing discussion with Netaji's relatives to resolve the issue. India is grateful to the Japanese Government and people for protecting the ashes for so long with reverence. FMYK said that many people in Japan have respect for Netaji and there was no inconvenience in keeping the ashes here. However, he personally felt that it would be better to return the ashes to his homeland and to his family. EAM said that India would give weight to the views of his daughter who was in favour of taking the ashes to India. In any case, the issue was expected to be resolved soon.

STAND OF THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE

8. In a note verbale dated October 27, 1995, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, informed us that as a result of investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

MEA'S SUGGESTIONS

9. MEA suggested that in view of the widespread sentiments Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. In doing so, the following preparatory action was envisaged:

i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes... public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes, or

ii) Alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions who would give a call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

MHA'S STAND

10. Based on the inputs received from MEA and IB, it was felt that if a decision is taken to bring the ashes back to India, creation of favourable public opinion will be a crucial step in the realisation of this objective. Some members of the Bose family, particularly Shri Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and individuals like Prof Samar Guha and members of the Forward Bloc, are not reconciled to the fact that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku. It would, therefore, be necessary to take members of Netaji's family into confidence in the first place by convincing them of the genuineness of the ashes. The question of an appropriate memorial involving the mortal remains shall also have to be addressed in due course.

PROPOSAL OF ASHIS C. RAY OF CNH

11. Ashis C. Ray of CNH, who is the grandson of Netaji's elder brother, visited Japan about a year ago and had met officials at the Foreign Office. On September 5, 1995, Shri Ray proposed to the Prime Minister, in a fax message, to direct conducting of a DNA test which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji Temple are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Bloc, and such like". He stated that a blood sample could be taken from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC Col. Habibur Rahman), to carry out the tests.

Mr. Ashish Ray claimed that he learnt in November, 1995 that Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi (The doctor who attended on Netaji Subhash Bose after the plane crash on August 18, 1945 at Taihoku) was alive and with the help of a Japanese colleague interviewed him. In a published article in the Statesman on 12.12.95, Mr. Ashish Ray stated categorically that Netaji Subhash Bose died after being involved in a plane crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945 and that Dr. Yoshimi confirmed to him having written the death certificate of Netaji Subhash Bose.

VIEWS OF NETAJI'S DAUGHTER

12. Ms. Anita Pfaff, Netaji's daughter from his German wife, had visited Delhi for discussions with other members of the family and been in touch with the Japanese Ambassador in Delhi in February 1995. She had also written to some associates of Netaji, including Hayashi. EAM met her in Germany in October 1995. During discussion with EAM, she expressed her willingness to go along with the proposal of bringing back the ashes to India but did not approve of the DNA test.

VIEWS OF OTHER IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF NETAJI'S FAMILY

13. While Dr. Sisir Bose supports the idea of bringing back the ashes, Dr. Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew remains the most vociferous skeptic of the air crash episode and opposes any proposal of bringing back the ashes.

TOP SECRET

Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

Proposal to bring back the mortal remains of
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan to
India.

BACKGROUND NOTE ON VARIOUS REPORTS AND OPPOSITION TO
CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

1. Netaji's death is an issue surcharged with emotions. The issue of whether he actually died in the plane crash of August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, has been questioned by some individuals and organizations.

(a) Shah Nawaz Committee Report: In response to a public demand, the Government of India appointed a 3-member committee on April 5, 1956, "to inquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith". The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. While S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, signed the report, Shri Suresh Chander Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by this dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

(b) Khosla Commission of Inquiry: In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains, and there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on July 11, 1970, one-man Commission of Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as sole member. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Taiwan and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the findings. The report of the Commission, along with the memorandum of action taken thereon, was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on September 3, 1974.

c) Shri Samar Guha moved a Motion in Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977, urging the Government to set up a 3-man commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of the disappearance of Netaji. The motion was discussed at length in 1977 and also in 1978. On the 28th August, 1978 the Prime Minister intervening in the debate observed:

"There have been two enquiries into the report of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the air-crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku airfield during his air-journey to Manchuria, one by a Committee presided over by Maj. General Shah Nawaz Khan and the second by a one-man Commission of Inquiry headed by Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. The majority report of the first Committee and Shri Khosla held the report of the death as true. Since then, reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness of the conclusions reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive. At the same time Government feels that no useful purpose would be served by having any further inquiry. I hope that in the light of this statement my Hon. friend will withdraw his motion".

Thereafter Prof. Guha withdrew his motion. While doing so he declared in the House:

"Today, I cannot express my gratitude to the Prime Minister because today ends a crusade that in my humble way I was trying to conduct on behalf of the people of India at least to see that officially and legally Netaji is not declared dead".

The question of authenticity of the ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple in Japan as those of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose remained inconclusive. As indicated by the then Prime Minister in the House the Government did not contemplate any fresh enquiry into the matter. It was, however, found that the point raised by Shri Guha in the speech in the House had been fully examined in the Home Ministry in the context of the Khosla Commission findings and no fresh grounds requiring further investigations by a new commission had been advanced by him. The matter was, therefore, placed before the CCPR with the following proposal:

"The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in the air crash on 18th August, 1945 at

112

Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or/by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February, 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

(d) Report of the Japanese Foreign Office: In a note verbale issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of India in Japan, dated January 31, 1956, the Foreign Office forwarded a report prepared by their Ministry on the cause of death and other matters related to late Subhash Chandra Bose. The investigation report incorporated the fact that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died on August 18, 1945 at 7 PM. The report, inter alia, included sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, along with rough sketch map of the airport, aircraft, and the Taipei Army Hospital. This report was taken into account by both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Inquiry.

UNION CABINET DECISION OF FEBRUARY 8, 1995

2. The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects.

PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS

3. The ashes are currently kept in an urn on the right side of the main altar in the Penkoji Temple in the outskirts (but within the city) of Tokyo. Like all shrines in Japan, there is no security except what is ensured by the reverence and respect shown by the Japanese towards religious places. The shrine is not exclusively devoted to the ashes of Netaji, and is visited by worshippers who do not necessarily go there to pay respect to the ashes. Strengthening of security is not likely to be received kindly, as this is a place of worship open to all. Furthermore, any suggestion from us could well revive the occasional suggestions from the Japanese that we should take the ashes to India.

4. The shrine is looked after by Rev. Yasufumi Mochizuki, whose father was the priest of the shrine earlier and had personally brought the ashes from Taipei about 50 years ago. Amongst the list of members of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy, he is the youngest and is 55 years old. Rev. Mochizuki appears to be quite happy to carry on the work of looking after the ashes and has told our Embassy that he has no intention of doing anything without the full consultation and approval of Japanese and Indian Governments. We donate Yen 600,000 annually, for the upkeep. It was felt that the contribution could perhaps be increased to Yen 1 million. As per PM's directive dated 30th November, 1995, MEA is processing the proposal to increase Government of India's annual contribution to the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo from Yen 600,000/- to Yen One million.

PRESSURE FOR REMOVAL OF ASHES TO INDIA

5. Our Ambassador's impression is that such pressure as there is, comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy. He is in poor health. At the memorial service on August 19, 1994, Mr. Hayashi had said that that would be the last memorial service "in keeping with Buddhist tradition and practice". While it is not clear that there is any rule for discontinuance of the memorial service after 50 years, the younger members appear to be quite willing to carry on the memorial service although they would all be happy to see Netaji's ashes repatriated to India with due honour and ceremony.

6. Ambassador's remarks on the "present arrangements" and "pressure for removal of ashes to India" were conveyed to the Home Secretary by Foreign Secretary in June, 1995.

VIEWS OF JAPANESE FOREIGN OFFICE

7. (a) The Japanese Foreign Office has asked us whether, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of Netaji's death and the forthcoming centenary of his birth (January 23, 1997), we propose to take the ashes back to India. This has been more in the nature of an inquiry than a suggestion. It is unlikely that the Foreign Office would do anything without consulting us and seeking our concurrence.

(b) During EAM's visit to Japan, Foreign Minister Yoheio Kono referred to the visit of EAM to Renkoji temple on 8 September, 1995 and said that there were many Japanese who respected Netaji Bose. The background to the issue of Netaji's ashes was better understood when one notes that the people taking care of the ashes are getting old. But the issue remains unresolved. FMYK sought EAM's candid assessment. EAM replied that it was one of the issues which India is addressing. The centenary celebration of Netaji was falling next year. Some family members, specially one of Netaji's nephews, had raised strong objection to the taking of ashes to India. He belongs to a political party which does not believe that Netaji died on that particular occasion. The Government's earlier decision to award the Bharat Ratna to Netaji posthumously was challenged in the court on the ground that his death had not been clearly established. At the same time, however, there was an important section including INA veterans, which feels strongly that the ashes should be kept in a monument in India dedicated to Netaji. We are already talking to them. This month we are also continuing discussion with Netaji's relatives to resolve the issue. India is grateful to the Japanese Government and people for protecting the ashes for so long with reverence. FMYK said that many people in Japan have respect for Netaji and there was no inconvenience in keeping the ashes here. However, he personally felt that it would be better to return the ashes to his homeland and to his family. EAM said that India would give weight to the views of his daughter who was in favour of taking the ashes to India. In any case, the issue was expected to be resolved soon.

STAND OF THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE

8. In a note verbale dated October 27, 1995, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, informed us that as a result of investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

MEA'S SUGGESTIONS

9. MEA suggested that in view of the widespread sentiments Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. In doing so, the following preparatory action was envisaged:

i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes... public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes, or

ii) Alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions who would give a call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

MHA'S STAND

10. Based on the inputs received from MEA and IB, it was felt that if a decision is taken to bring the ashes back to India, creation of favourable public opinion will be a crucial step in the realisation of this objective. Some members of the Bose family, particularly Shri Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and individuals like Prof Samar Guha and members of the Forward Bloc, are not reconciled to the fact that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku. It would, therefore, be necessary to take members of Netaji's family into confidence in the first place by convincing them of the genuineness of the ashes. The question of an appropriate memorial involving the mortal remains shall also have to be addressed in due course.

PROPOSAL OF ASHIS C. RAY OF CNN

11. Ashis C. Ray of CNN, who is the grandson of Netaji's elder brother, visited Japan about a year ago and had met officials at the Foreign Office. On September 5, 1995, Shri Ray proposed to the Prime Minister, in a fax message, to direct conducting of a DNA test which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Renkoji Temple are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Bloc, and such like". He stated that a blood sample could be taken from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC Col. Habibur Rahman), to carry out the test.

Mr. Ashish Ray claimed that he learnt in November, 1995 that Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi (The doctor who attended on Netaji Subhash Bose after the plane crash on August 18, 1945 at Taihoku) was alive and with the help of a Japanese colleague interviewed him. In a published article in the Statesman on 12.12.95, Mr. Ashish Ray stated categorically that Netaji Subhash Bose died after being involved in a plane crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945 and that Dr. Yoshimi confirmed to him having written the death certificate of Netaji Subhash Bose.

VIEWS OF NETAJI'S DAUGHTER

12. Ms. Anita Pfaff, Netaji's daughter from his German wife, had visited Delhi for discussions with other members of the family and been in touch with the Japanese Ambassador in Delhi in February 1995. She had also written to some associates of Netaji, including Hayashi. EAM met her in Germany in October 1995. During discussion with EAM, she expressed her willingness to go along with the proposal of bringing back the ashes to India but did not approve of the DNA test.

VIEWS OF OTHER IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF NETAJI'S FAMILY

13. While Dr. Sisir Bose supports the idea of bringing back the ashes, Dr. Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew remains the most vociferous skeptic of the air crash episode and opposes any proposal of bringing back the ashes.

(117)
TOP SECRETMinistry of External Affairs
New Delhi

subject : Proposal to bring back the mortal remains of
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Japan to
India.

BACKGROUND NOTE ON VARIOUS REPORTS AND OPPOSITION TO
CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

1. Netaji's death is an issue surcharged with emotions. The issue of whether he actually died in the plane crash of August 18, 1945, at Taihoku, has been questioned by some individuals and organizations.

(a) Shah Nawaz Committee Report: In response to a public demand, the Government of India appointed a 3-member committee on April 5, 1956, "to inquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments therewith". The Committee, by a majority of 2:1, came to the conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku (Taiwan) on August 18, 1945. While S/Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, signed the report, Shri Suresh Chander Bose disagreed with this conclusion and submitted a dissenting report. Although the report of the Committee was considerably devalued by this dissent, the majority report was accepted by the Government.

(b) Khosla Commission of Inquiry: In view of widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains, and there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter, the Central Government instituted on July 11, 1970, one-man Commission of Inquiry into disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as sole member. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Taiwan and examined 224 witnesses (including 100 examined abroad). A large number of files and documents produced before the Commission, were examined. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. The Cabinet considered this report and accepted the findings. The report of the Commission, along with the memorandum of action taken thereon, was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on September 7, 1971.

c) Shri Samar Guha moved a Motion in Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977, urging the Government to set up a 3-man commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of the disappearance of Netaji. The motion was discussed at length in 1977 and also in 1978. On the 28th August, 1978 the Prime Minister intervening in the debate observed:

"There have been two enquiries into the report of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the air-crash on 18th August, 1945 at Taihoku airfield during his air-journey to Manchuria, one by a Committee presided over by Maj. General Shah Nawaz Khan and the second by a one-man Commission of Inquiry headed by Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. The majority report of the first Committee and Shri Khosla held the report of the death as true. Since then, reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness of the conclusions reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive. At the same time Government feels that no useful purpose would be served by having any further inquiry. I hope that in the light of this statement my Hon. friend will withdraw his motion".

Thereafter Prof. Guha withdrew his motion. While doing so he declared in the House:

"Today, I cannot express my gratitude to the Prime Minister because today ends a crusade that in my humble way I was trying to conduct on behalf of the people of India at least to see that officially and legally Netaji is not declared dead".

The question of authenticity of the ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple in Japan as those of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose remained inconclusive. As indicated by the then Prime Minister in the House the Government did not contemplate any fresh enquiry into the matter. It was, however, found that the point raised by Shri Guha in the speech in the House had been fully examined in the Home Ministry in the context of the Khosla Commission findings and no fresh grounds requiring further investigations by a new commission had been advanced by him. The matter was, therefore, placed before the CCPA with the following proposal:

"The issue of Netaji's death and bringing of ashes to India is surcharged with emotion. We have already had two enquiries on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. It has already been accepted that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died in the air-crash on 18th August, 1945 at

Taihoku. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or/bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

The CCPA approved the proposal on 27th February, 1991 and the matter was laid at rest.

(d) Report of the Japanese Foreign Office: In a note verbale issued by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Embassy of India in Japan, dated January 31, 1956, the Foreign Office forwarded a report prepared by their Ministry on the cause of death and other matters related to late Subhash Chandra Bose. The investigation report incorporated the fact that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died on August 18, 1945 at 7 PM. The report, inter alia, included sequence of events leading to the sad demise of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, along with rough sketch map of the airport, aircraft, and the Taipei Army Hospital. This report was taken into account by both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission of Inquiry.

UNION CABINET DECISION OF FEBRUARY 8, 1995

2. The Union Cabinet had considered on February 8, 1995, the question of bringing the mortal remains of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India. While deferring a final decision, the Cabinet directed that the dependability of the arrangements in Japan should be properly examined and that a contingency plan for the proper upkeep of the mortal remains should be drawn up, and that our Ambassador in Tokyo be specifically requested to look into these aspects.

PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS

3. The ashes are currently kept in an urn on the right side of the main altar in the Renkoji Temple in the outskirts (but within the city) of Tokyo. Like all shrines in Japan, there is no security except what is ensured by the reverence and respect shown by the Japanese towards religious places. The shrine is not exclusively devoted to the ashes of Netaji, and is visited by worshippers who do not necessarily go there to pay respect to the ashes. Strengthening of security is not likely to be received kindly, as this is a place of worship open to all. Furthermore, any suggestion from us could well revive the occasional suggestions from the Japanese that we should take the ashes to India.

4. The shrine is looked after by Rev. Yasufumi Mochizuki, whose father was the priest of the shrine earlier and had personally brought the ashes from Taipei about 50 years ago. Amongst the list of members of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy, he is the youngest and is 55 years old. Rev. Mochizuki appears to be quite happy to carry on the work of looking after the ashes and has told our Embassy that he has no intention of doing anything without the full consultation and approval of Japanese and Indian Governments. We donate Yen 600,000 annually, for the upkeep. It was felt that the contribution could perhaps be increased to Yen 1 million. As per PM's directive dated 30th November, 1995, MEA is processing the proposal to increase Government of India's annual contribution to the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo from Yen 600,000/- to Yen One million.

PRESSURE FOR REMOVAL OF ASHES TO INDIA

5. Our Ambassador's impression is that such pressure as there is, comes chiefly from the associates of Netaji who are growing older and who feel a personal sense of responsibility for the ashes. They feel that after them, there might be nobody to pay proper respect to the memory of Netaji. Even within the group, the main pressure is from older members, especially Mr. Hayashi, Secretary of the Bose Academy. He is in poor health. At the memorial service on August 19, 1994, Mr. Hayashi had said that that would be the last memorial service "in keeping with Buddhist tradition and practice". While it is not clear that there is any rule for discontinuance of the memorial service after 50 years, the younger members appear to be quite willing to carry on the memorial service although they would all be happy to see Netaji's ashes repatriated to India with due honour and ceremony.

6. Ambassador's remarks on the "present arrangements" and "pressure for removal of ashes to India" were conveyed to the Home Secretary by Foreign Secretary in June, 1995.

VIEWS OF JAPANESE FOREIGN OFFICE

7. (a) The Japanese Foreign Office has asked us whether, in view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of Netaji's death and the forthcoming centenary of his birth (January 23, 1997), we propose to take the ashes back to India. This has been more in the nature of an inquiry than a suggestion. It is unlikely that the Foreign Office would do anything without consulting us and seeking our concurrence.

(b) During EAM's visit to Japan, Foreign Minister Yoheio Kono referred to the visit of EAM to Renkoji temple on 8 September, 1995 and said that there were many Japanese who respected Netaji Bose. The background to the issue of Netaji's ashes was better understood when one notes that the people taking care of the ashes are getting old. But the issue remains unresolved. FMYK sought EAM's candid assessment. EAM replied that it was one of the issues which India is addressing. The centenary celebration of Netaji was falling next year. Some family members, specially one of Netaji's nephews, had raised strong objection to the taking of ashes to India. He belongs to a political party which does not believe that Netaji died on that particular occasion. The Government's earlier decision to award the Bharat Ratna to Netaji posthumously was challenged in the court on the ground that his death had not been clearly established. At the same time, however, there was an important section including INA veterans, which feels strongly that the ashes should be kept in a monument in India dedicated to Netaji. We are already talking to them. This month we are also continuing discussion with Netaji's relatives to resolve the issue. India is grateful to the Japanese Government and people for protecting the ashes for so long with reverence. FMYK said that many people in Japan have respect for Netaji and there was no inconvenience in keeping the ashes here. However, he personally felt that it would be better to return the ashes to his homeland and to his family. EAM said that India would give weight to the views of his daughter who was in favour of taking the ashes to India. In any case, the issue was expected to be resolved soon.

STAND OF THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE

8. In a note verbale dated October 27, 1995, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, informed us that as a result of investigations carried out at the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service of Russia, and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, no information whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years.

MEA'S SUGGESTIONS

9. MEA suggested that in view of the widespread sentiments Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be befittingly commemorated, the ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. This action would form part of the full public recognition of his role and contribution to India's independence. In doing so, the following preparatory action was envisaged:

i) Promotion of consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing back the ashes... public figures and others to be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes, or

ii) Alternatively, establishment of a committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary with participation of public figures of various political opinions who would give a call for bringing back the late leader's ashes to India.

MHA'S STAND

10. Based on the inputs received from MEA and IB, it was felt that if a decision is taken to bring the ashes back to India, creation of favourable public opinion will be a crucial step in the realisation of this objective. Some members of the Bose family, particularly Shri Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew, and individuals like Prof Samar Guha and members of the Forward Bloc, are not reconciled to the fact that Netaji died in the air crash at Taihoku. It would, therefore, be necessary to take members of Netaji's family into confidence in the first place by convincing them of the genuineness of the ashes. The question of an appropriate memorial involving the mortal remains shall also have to be addressed in due course.

PROPOSAL OF ASHIS C. RAY OF CNN

11. Ashis C. Ray of CNN, who is the grandson of Netaji's elder brother, visited Japan about a year ago and had met officials at the Foreign Office. On September 5, 1995, Shri Ray proposed to the Prime Minister, in a fax message, to direct conducting of a DNA test which may provide conclusive and incontrovertible scientific evidence as to whether the ashes at Benkoji Temple are Netaji's or not. Further, he proposed that an international team of experts, one of whom could be from our DNA Centre at Hyderabad, be "entrusted with the job with a set of observers from the Bose family, the Forward Bloc, and such like". He stated that a blood sample could be taken from a relative and bone particles from the ashes or a tooth (which is likely to exist in the urn on the basis of a claim made by Netaji's ADC Col. Habibur Rahman). The test could be carried out in the

Mr. Ashish Ray claimed that he learnt in November, 1995 that Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi (The doctor who attended on Netaji Subhash Bose after the plane crash on August 18, 1945 at Taihoku) was alive and with the help of a Japanese colleague interviewed him. In a published article in the Statesman on 12.12.95, Mr. Ashish Ray stated categorically that Netaji Subhash Bose died after being involved in a plane crash at Taihoku on August 18, 1945 and that Dr. Yoshimi confirmed to him having written the death certificate of Netaji Subhash Bose.

VIEWS OF NETAJI'S DAUGHTER

12. Ms. Anita Pfaff, Netaji's daughter from his German wife, had visited Delhi for discussions with other members of the family and been in touch with the Japanese Ambassador in Delhi in February 1995. She had also written to some associates of Netaji, including Hayashi. EAM met her in Germany in October 1995. During discussion with EAM, she expressed her willingness to go along with the proposal of bringing back the ashes to India but did not approve of the DNA test.

VIEWS OF OTHER IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF NETAJI'S FAMILY

13. While Dr. Sisir Bose supports the idea of bringing back the ashes, Dr. Amiya Nath Bose, Netaji's nephew remains the most vociferous skeptic of the air crash episode and opposes any proposal of bringing back the ashes.

(6) 207
प्रधान मंत्री का
PRIME MINISTER

21/12
RET

2/NGO/85
21/12

ली - 110 011

NEW DELHI - 110011

A suggestion has been received in this Office, including from some members of the family of the late Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, proposing that the ashes presumed to be Netaji's, which presently lie in an urn at the Renkoji Temple, Tokyo should be subjected to mitochondrial DNA analysis to try to resolve the controversy surrounding them.

2. We would be grateful for comments on this suggestion.

N.K. Sinha
(N.K. Sinha)
Joint Secretary to PM
19.12.95

1. Home Secretary
- ✓2. Foreign Secretary
3. Secretary, Department of Biotechnology

PMO U.O. No. 805/11/C/13/95-21/12/95 dated 19.12.95

*Minister
Dir (CIV)*

*P. K. K. K.
12/11/95
So (NW) K. K.
21.12.95
chops*

Rajat Saha
Director(CHV)

TOP SECRET

(5)

125

No.25/4/NGO(Pt)

13th November, 1995

Kindly refer to your letter No.TOK/102/2/92 dated 24.8.95 forwarding herewith File No.5(1)NGO-I alongwith Part file No.5(1)NGO-I(No.Amb/PS-II/56).

As instructed by FS a copy of your file and the folder has been retained by NGO Section.

The original file alongwith the part file is returned herewith.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,

R. Saha
(Rajat Saha)

OK

Shri N. Ravi
Minister & DCM
Embassy of India,
Tokyo

Sh OPS
13.11.95

Sh OPS
13/11/95



सत्यमेव जयते

DCM

TOP SECRET

N. Ravi
Minister & Deputy Chief of Mission

5

126
भारत का राजदूतावास, टोकियो
Embassy of India
2-2-11 Kudan Minami
Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo-102
Telex: 2324886 (INDEMB)
Phone: (03) 3262-2391
Fax: (03) 3262-1273

No.TOK/102/2/92


August 24, 1995

My dear Rajat,

Please find enclosed File No. 5(1)NGO-I (Subject: Ashes of Shri Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose) in original and part file No. 5(1)NGO-I (No.AMB/PS-II/56). Since the press clippings are very large in numbers, they are being sent by bag leaving Tokyo on 27th August, 1995.

Please acknowledge receipt of these two files.

Yours sincerely,


(N. Ravi) 24/8

Shri Rajat Saha,
Director (CNV)
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

1068/11/11
25/8/95

11-1191/12(40)/95
24/8

127

O.T.C.

Telegram

TOP SECRET

CCB No. 12835

Copy No. 02

From: Indembassy Tokyo
To: Foreign New Delhi

3

DTG AUG 241600
DTR AUG 241400
Year 1995

CRASH

No. 11.

Shri RAJAT SAHA, DIRECTOR (CNV) from N. RAVI, Minister and DCM.

Reference your telegram No. 5738 dated August 23, 1995. As instructed by you, files regarding the ashes of Netaji SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE have been sent by hand of Pilot of AI-307 vide Bag No. 34-New Delhi(AIR) dated 24.8.95. The flight reaches Delhi around 1700 hours IST today (24.8.95) Thursday. Grateful arrange collection.

FS: DIR/CNV.


SECTION OFFICER (CCB)

VGY(A)/3cs
241445
241500
241500

TOP SECRET

25/8/95
60.
PS
95

T-1860/1100/42
24/8/25

(2)

O.T.C.

128

Telegram

TOP SECRET

CCB No. 5738

Copy No. 2

From : Foreign New Delhi
To : Indembassy Tokyo

DTG AUG 231645
DTT AUG 231720
YEAR 1995

CRASH

No. 5738.

N. RAVI, DCM from DIR(CNV).

Refour telecon of today regarding file on Netaji.
FS desires that the file be sent immediately repeat
immediately by special bag. Intimate despatch details.

FS : DIR CNV.

Alurhayan
(SECTION OFFICER(CCB))

MP(A)/03 Cs.

231645
231730
240600

TOP SECRET

27/11/95. Part

24/8
24/8/25
OPS
24.8.95

①

①29

TOP SECRET
CROSS

CCB TELEGRAM

FOREIGN NEW DELHI

INDEMBASSY TOKYO

DCM FROM DIRECTOR(CHV)

REFOUR TELECON OF TODAY REGARDING FILE ON NETAJI(.) FS
DESIRES THAT THE FILE BE SENT IMMEDIATELY REPEAT IMMEDIATELY BY
SPECIAL BAG(.) INTIMATE DESPATCH DETAILS(.)

FS

(CHV)